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ART. I.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* (New Series.)

THE despotic Governments of Europe, as they now exist, are not characterised, under ordinary circumstances, by measures of violence and injustice. The law is administered by regular tribunals; person and property receive an efficient protection; cruelties, such as those practised by the Roman emperors and oriental sovereigns, are rare and extraordinary exceptions. The Government, if it is provoked by some act of insubordination, may, at times, resort to severe measures beyond the law; but in the common course of events, it does not proceed to extremities. The main characteristic of European despotisms at present is, that they suppress all manifestation of opinion adverse to their acts and policy—that they permit no unfavourable criticism of their proceedings, either by speech or by writing, either in parliamentary bodies, in public meetings, or through the press. If, in a despotic country, the people do not approve of the acts of their Government, they must simulate approbation, or at least they must suppress disapprobation—though they may be in fact discontented, they must appear to be contented; though there may be a difference of opinions, they must make it seem as if there was perfect unanimity. The Inquisition of the Church of Rome is now a comparatively inert and lenient tribunal; but the political inquisition of the despotic Governments has taken its place; and by its spies, its private information, its secret procedure, its torturing imprisonments, and its unhealthy banishments, it as

effectually suppresses all political heresy and dissent, it as completely silences all free speech and independent discussion, as the Holy Office ever suppressed religious freedom, and enforced religious uniformity.

On the other hand, the distinctive mark of a free Government is, not so much the mildness, moderation, and equity of its administration (although it in general avoids the measures of harshness and cruelty which occur from time to time in despotic States), as its permission of a free discussion of its measures—of its toleration of adverse criticism in parliament, at public meetings, in newspapers, pamphlets, and books. It is the legal and acknowledged existence of an organised opposition to the Government which is, in these times, the most salient characteristic of a free country, and its principal distinction from despotisms.

If we are right in supposing that the leading characteristic of modern despotism is not the gratification of the caprices and passions of the despot, but an attempt to crush all independent action, to enforce a universal silence, to demand an universal conformity, apparent if not real, to suppress all dissent, to centralise all power, to reduce everything to a simple military subordination of command and obedience; and that the leading characteristic of free countries is not merely a regular administration of the law, but the tolerance of a legal opposition, by argumentative criticism and discussion, to the acts of the Government, we shall do well in devoting some pages to an examination of the nature of this opposition, of the means by which it is conducted, and of the consequences to which it leads.

In a country, which, like England, has long enjoyed freedom of parliamentary debate, the right of meeting in public for purposes of discussion, and an almost unbounded liberty of the press, it is superfluous to dwell on the advantages of these institutions. With whatever abuses their use may sometimes be associated, men of all parties agree in upholding and cherishing them. Everybody sees that wholesome political changes are prepared, matured, and promoted by public discussion; that a weak minority, when it has reason on its side, is enabled, by the exercise of this right, to grow in time into a strong minority, and finally to become a majority; that numerous abuses are corrected, in consequence of their exposure, — that public opinion can distinguish between the general utility of Government and the occasional errors and misconduct of its administrators, and that the people can obey the law, while they criticise those who carry it into effect. It would be a waste of words, if we were to set forth in detail the reasons in favour of those institutions by

which an opposition in a free country is conducted. We shall, therefore, assume that the general policy of permitting a free censure of public measures is conceded: and shall try to ascertain how the opposition to a Government is usually conducted, and under what conditions it may be rendered most beneficial to the community. An inquiry of this sort seems to us the more desirable, because the criticism of a Ministry, like all other sorts of criticism, may be unjust as well as just; and because the perversions of the system of political opposition appear to us to furnish the friends of despotism with some of the most specious arguments against free government. In pointing out the abuses of a Parliamentary Opposition, our object will be to show in what its real use and excellence consist.

A Parliamentary Government is a government of political parties — and whenever it exists, the principal executive offices are filled by the members of the party which is in the ascendant. The criticism of the Government and of its acts is, therefore, carried on by the leaders of the less powerful parties, who are, for the time, excluded from office. That exclusion, however, is for the most part, involuntary: it is submitted to reluctantly, and a perpetual struggle is going on, which has for its object the ejection of the actual holders of office, and their replacement by the leaders of Opposition. The more sordid and needy seek office for its pecuniary advantages: the vain desire it for its distinctions and social rank; the ambitious covet it as the instrument of power: the public-spirited and philanthropic regard it as a means of giving practical effect to their opinions, and of promoting the interest of the community. Those who do not seek office for themselves, desire it for their friends — and wish that the party to which they belong should have the management of public affairs. Whatever may be the motive, all the members of an Opposition combine in desiring the ejection of the existing Ministry, and the filling of the vacant offices from their own ranks.

Now it is by the leaders of Opposition that the detailed criticism of the measures of the Government is carried on. They are, as it were, the *ex-officio* judges of the existing administration; and they assume to exercise their judicial functions in an independent and impartial spirit. To the merit of independence they can justly lay claim; but their situation is almost always inconsistent with impartiality. They have too deep an interest in proving that Ministers have acted wrongly, to bring an unbiassed mind to the subject. Hence the imputation to which the leaders of a Parliamentary Opposition are so often exposed, of being actuated by party motives; in other words,

of taking a step which has for its object, not the general good of the community, but the special and exclusive advantage of their own party. It is true that this description applies principally to the Opposition leaders in Parliament; there is much criticism in the press, and at public meetings, which proceeds from judges who are not candidates for office, who will derive no appreciable personal benefit from a change of Government, and who, so far as their position is concerned, are impartial as well as independent. The results of this criticism, in fact, determine public opinion, and by public opinion the course of Parliament is ultimately regulated. But the every-day battle of Opposition is carried on in Parliament, and, for a time, the conduct of the parliamentary leaders exercises much influence upon the opinions of their party out-of-doors. Practically, therefore, a minister in a constitutional State has for his judges his personal rivals, as well as his political enemies. Every step which he takes, every word which he utters, is watched by persons who are equally impelled by interest and by feeling, by the prospect of solid advantage, and by the suggestions of spontaneous antipathy, to put the worst construction upon his acts and his language. Suitors for the hand of the same lady, competitors for the same prize, are not likely to be very fair judges of one another's merits; and yet in a Parliamentary Assembly, the character and conduct of the members of the Government, are habitually and professionally judged by their declared personal rivals. The Opposition leaders constitute the Court of First Instance; from their sentence, which in almost all cases admitting of doubt, is a sentence of condemnation, there is an appeal to the High Court of public opinion; but the Ministers must appear at its bar as appellants, praying that the sentence registered against them by the spokesmen of the Parliamentary Opposition, may be reversed. A Parliamentary Opposition resembles the claimants of a valuable succession, who are to receive it upon some misfeasance of the actual holder, and are themselves the judges of that misfeasance. They are the legatees of a testator whose will they have themselves made in their own favour, and whom they are permitted to strangle in due form of law. Under these circumstances every well-meaning, honest, and capable Government, in a free country, has a constant and powerful interest in maintaining the freedom of the press, and of discussion at public meetings; and in promoting the activity of the extra-parliamentary organs of opinion. By so doing, they increase the number of their judges who are not interested in condemning their conduct; they throw an additional weight into that scale where they are most likely to

find a fair, unprejudiced, and impartial estimate of their acts; whereas, in proportion as the sentence of the Court of Opposition is final, in the same proportion are they at the mercy of their enemies and rivals,—of the persons whom they have perhaps ejected from office, and who are attempting to eject them from it in turn.

A representative chamber is an admirable institution; it is by far the best practical solution of the problem of political government, which the wit of man has hitherto been able to devise; but it necessitates the system of party rule, and where this system exists, it is material that the action of the nation upon the chamber should be energetic and constant. The chamber ought to be a heart whose movements correspond with the pulsations at the extremities. Without this sympathy, the representatives run the risk of separating themselves from those whom they represent, and of becoming a distinct oligarchy, with a policy and a system of its own. It is desirable to bring the Opposition, as well as the members of the Government, under the control of public opinion, in order to prevent them from playing a game of their own, at the expense of the national welfare, and to clear from their eyes the mist with which personal interest obscures the vision even of the most clear-sighted. Ultimately the public constitutes itself into a jury to try the question at issue between the Government and the Opposition. It considers them as interested and litigant parties neither of whom is to be permitted to be judge in his own cause. For this reason, the reporting of the Parliamentary Debates in the daily press exercises a most important influence upon the character of the debates themselves, and upon the conduct of the speakers. Though formally addressed to the assembly, they are often in reality spoken to the public at large, to that public which does not share in the narrow interests and personal feelings of the chamber itself; and even those speeches which are designed for the information and conviction of the chamber, are delivered with a consciousness that they are, as it were, overheard by the public out of doors. If the debates of the House of Lords and Commons were now, as in former times, carried on with closed doors, or at least with a strict prohibition of reporting, there would be a much stronger tendency to degenerate into a factious struggle for power between the leaders of opposite parties, with only a partial reference to the public interest. In this manner the invention of printing, combined with the admirable arrangements for accelerating the process of reporting made by modern skill and enterprise, has much facilitated the action of a Parliamentary Government.

The impartiality of Opposition criticism is not only liable to be distorted by interest, it is likewise subject to the corrupting influence of envy. All ambitious men are envious.* The desire of lowering, humbling, mortifying, discrediting, or ruining a successful rival is a perpetual incentive to action in an ambitious man. This is the case even when he is (like Pitt and Fox), ambitious without being vain: but a man who is both ambitious and vain, would, if he were free from envy, be a paragon of human virtue. Envy being a cold passion, which does not betray men into sudden transports of excitement, admits of being concealed, and in politics it is always covered by some pretext of a public nature; but it is (with its constant associate, the love of detraction,) an active and pervading principle of conduct, and it has, in all free countries, determined the actions of public men to an extent which it is difficult to exaggerate.

Besides the steady promptings of conscious interest, and the more insidious infusions of envy, there is another temptation to which the impartiality of the oppositionist is subject. Accusation is more stimulating than defence: eulogy is flat and uninteresting; whereas grave charges against men in power delivered in a confident tone, or severe censure pronounced with an authoritative air; still more, vehement invective, pointed sarcasm, and brilliant ridicule, will command instant and universal attention from opponents and neutrals, and be received with enthusiastic applause from friends. Praise (says Tacitus) savours of servility; but vituperation, though prompted by malice, seems to be the outpouring of honest indignation. 'Livor et obtrec-'tatio pronis auribus accipiuntur; quippe adulationi fœdum 'crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.' An authentic anecdote recorded of Sir Philip Francis will illustrate the tendency of the oppositionist in question. A young member of the House of Commons (now a distinguished member of the House of Lords) made a speech, in which he eulogised some person who had taken part in the debate. After he had sat down, Sir Philip Francis lost no time in cautioning him against this dangerous indulgence of candour. 'Young 'man,' he said, 'take the advice of an old member: never praise 'anybody except *in odium tertii.*' This counsel was certainly not unworthy of the author of Junius; but it bears witness to the superior pungency of sarcasm and attack, as compared with eulogy and defence. It is likewise easier to attack than to

* 'Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam sunt, quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam suam animis non æquant, quia virtutem et bonum alienum oderunt.' (*Livy*, xxxv. 43.)

defend; it requires less discrimination and less thought: for no course of conduct is altogether free from errors, and in estimating a connected series of actions, some allowance for the infirmity of human judgment must be made by a candid and equitable critic.

It follows from what has been said, that the leaders and members of a Parliamentary Opposition are constantly placed in a situation unfavourable to a disinterested, dispassionate, and unprejudiced criticism of the acts of the Government: and that they are perpetually impelled, by the operation of powerful motives, to unjust censure, and unmerited condemnation of Ministers. Partly from interest, and partly from antipathy, they are apt to view the whole conduct of the men in office through a jaundiced and discoloured medium; and thus, instead of supporting those measures which are good, and opposing those only which are bad, they are induced to carry on an indiscriminate opposition to all the acts and proceedings of the Government. They are tempted to erect opposition into a subordinate end, without reference to any higher standard; to consider parliamentary management as a game of which the only object is to checkmate the Ministry. Like a miser, who originally seeking money for the sake of the enjoyments which it procures, ends by amassing it for the mere pleasure of accumulation, and without allowing himself more than the bare necessaries of life; they begin by opposing Ministers for the sake of the public, and end by opposing them for the sake of opposition alone.

We will now attempt to describe the code of practical maxims which govern the conduct of the professional oppositionist; of the parliamentary leader who considers a ministry as a nuisance to be abated, as a disease to be extirpated, as a fortress to be stormed; who carries on an indiscriminate opposition to its acts and measures; who never misses an opportunity of weakening, wounding, harassing, dividing, and disheartening the enemy; who intercepts every despatch, who cuts off every party of stragglers, and who rarely gives any quarter. In setting forth these maxims, we shall attempt to embody and condense the results of the parliamentary experience of this country, as collected from ministries and oppositions of all parties, and we make no special allusion to the present more than to previous oppositions. If our views are correct, the conduct of the professed oppositionist springs out of his situation, and is the natural growth of the circumstances in which he is placed. It is not connected with any set of political opinions, or with the political creed of any one party.

Whenever a bad measure is brought forward by a Government, it ought to be opposed: whenever a Government commits any error, it ought to be censured; but the peculiar mark of the professed oppositionist is (as we have already seen) that his objections are indiscriminate, his opposition general and systematic. Whatever the Executive Government propose, that he opposes. There is in his mind a universal and conclusive presumption against all propositions coming from a certain quarter; and when they have been made, the only question which he has to decide is, by what arguments, in what manner, at what time, and to what extent, they are to be combated. Parliamentary opposition in a general sense may therefore be defined as the Science of Objections. Whatever is said or done by the author of the measures to be opposed, must be objected to by the oppositionist. In many cases, simple objection suffices. If white is proposed, he may find it sufficient to prove that white is wrong; if black is proposed, he may find it sufficient to prove that black is wrong. His position is essentially negative; he lies by, and watches, and takes advantage of his adversary's mistakes or weak points, disclosed by his movements. He proposes nothing, and opposes everything.

The power of making objections may indeed be abused with so much ease, that Archbishop Whately has included the Fallacy of Objections in his enumeration of sophistical modes of reasoning. 'This fallacy' (he remarks) 'consists in showing 'that there are objections against some plan, theory, or system, 'and thence inferring that it should be rejected; when that 'which ought to have been proved is, that there are more or 'stronger objections against the receiving than the rejecting of 'it. There never was, nor never will be, any plan executed or 'proposed, against which strong and even unanswerable objec-'tions may not be urged; so that unless the opposite objections 'be set in the balance on the other side, we can never advance 'a step. There are objections, said Dr. Johnson, against a '*plenum*, and objections against a *vacuum*; but one of them 'must be true.' No course of conduct is altogether free from errors, no legislative scheme is altogether free from defects. A critic, therefore, who dwells exclusively on the defective points, who does not attempt an impartial investigation of both sides of a question, who does not endeavour to compare the advantages with the disadvantages, and to strike the balance between them, can never be at a loss for finding the means of condemnation and censure. Moreover, a legislative scheme may always be reduced to absurdity by supposing extreme cases, and by assuming that every provision will be executed

with mechanical inflexibility, and without regard to ulterior consequences — suppositions wholly at variance with the truth, and inconsistent with the spirit in which laws are really carried into effect, but which nevertheless serve as the substratum of a large part of the objections made to measures of legislation, while they are under discussion.

An oppositionist often finds the means of censuring the conduct of the politicians whom he seeks to condemn, by adopting a rule founded on the contrary principle to that which Ovid prescribes to the lover for praising his mistress. This master of the Art of Love says, that if the beloved object has any defect, her admirer is to conceal it under the name of the beauty to which it is most nearly allied. 'Lateat 'vitium proximitate boni' is to be his maxim. The opposition critic, on the other hand, describes every good quality by the name of that failing to which it most approximates; his maxim is, 'Lateat virtus proximitate mali.'* In human nature, most excellences verge upon a defect, with which they may, by an uncandid critic, be successfully confounded. Characters, such as Johnson used to write, of men who have courage without rashness, caution without timidity, liberality without profusion, economy without parsimony, prudence without coldness, firmness without obstinacy, and confidence without arrogance, occur more often in panegyrics and epitaphs than in real life. Hence, by a slight deflexion of the ethical nomenclature, the opposition speaker may often invest good qualities with unfavourable associations, and may take care that his adversary's conduct, even where it is really praiseworthy, is viewed in a bad light, and is stripped of those attributes which excite public sympathy and admiration.

A merely negative criticism, however, — censure of everything done or proposed, unaccompanied with positive suggestion — after a time is unsatisfactory, and begets suspicion. Hence opposition, when properly understood, is not merely a Science of Objections; it is also a Science of Alternatives. The skill of the oppositionist consists in perceiving quickly the alternative courses which the Government has not taken; in selecting that one which admits of being placed in the most favourable point of view, and in recommending it, with force and clearness, as preferable to the course which has been adopted. If the Government has chosen a road to the right, his business is to

* Livy tells us that when Fabius was dictator, Minucius, his master of the horse, attacked him for his dilatory policy. 'Pro cunctatore 'segnem et cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia.' (xxii. 12.)

prove that it ought to have chosen one to the left; if it has chosen a road to the left, his business is to prove that it ought to have chosen one to the right. This is the general description of the opposition problem. In the solution of its different cases, in the dextrous development of the principles which it involves, and in their adaptation to the varying aspects and circumstances of debate, lies the secret of opposition tactics. The opposition leader, who is always prepared with a happy application of this cardinal theorem, may consider himself, so far as his own craft is concerned, as being in possession of the philosopher's stone.

Starting from this datum, the wary oppositionist will perceive that his business is to assume the attitude, not of a member of a deliberative body, seeking to contribute his counsels for the common advantage, but of an observer, who watches the movements of an adversary. He will wait to see what course is taken by those whom he opposes; he will lie by, until their opinion is declared, their measure announced, and their course irrevocably fixed. Having secured his own freedom of choice by steady silence, he will then come forward, and condemn the adverse proposition, preferring to it any one of those which might have been made. A leading maxim, therefore, of the opposition leader is to propose nothing, and to commit himself to no opinion while the choice of the Government is free and open; to abstain from all suggestion, in the way of equal and friendly advice, for a common public good, but to maintain the attitude of a general who seeks to profit by the errors of his antagonist, and to drive in the enemy's lines, wherever he sees an opening for attack.

In all the great questions of the day, upon which a Government brings forward its propositions, or adopts its line of policy, there is always a choice of alternative courses. Moreover, this choice is often a choice between courses of which one is only preferable on certain grounds to another, and is in substance a mere choice of difficulties. Hence the experienced oppositionist can easily supply himself with reasons for preferring to the measure which he condemns some other which he recommends. For example, if the Minister has chosen war, the opposition leader will not hesitate to counsel peace. He may dwell upon the advantages of a pacific policy, the expensiveness of armaments, the uncertainty of the event of hostilities: he may say that true magnanimity consists in overlooking petty insults, and in not showing too great a readiness to vindicate supposed affronts to the national honour. He may insinuate that salaries, pensions, commissions, are multiplied in war; that patronage is

increased; and may intimate that pretexts of a regard for national honour and glory ought not to be suffered to be made a cloak for sordid and selfish views.

If, on the other hand, the Minister has chosen peace, the oppositionist will, with equal readiness, recommend war. He will dwell upon the necessity of avoiding penny wisdom and pound folly; he will show that national honour is more sacred than national credit; that if we once allow ourselves to be humbled among the nations, and insulted with impunity, we shall be subjected to a series of wrongs and affronts, which will entail upon us heavier losses, and a larger expenditure, than would result from a prompt resistance to aggression and injury.

The same mode of arguing may be extended to the whole circle of public questions. If a direct tax is proposed by the Government, this proposition may serve as a text for a copious dissertation upon the advantages of indirect taxation in one quarter; if an indirect tax is proposed, this may produce an eulogy on direct taxation in another.

There are indeed certain fundamental principles—such as economy of the public money—in which all parties are agreed. Every party, moreover, has certain opinions and principles of its own, and is committed to a certain course of policy, to which its leaders must adhere in criticising the measures of their adversaries. The field of alternatives is not, therefore, quite open to the oppositionist, in examining measures of general policy. He is restrained within certain limits fixed by the antecedents and previous history of his own party. He has moreover his own consistency to preserve, even if he should not be guided by higher principles of action. Hence it is often convenient to criticise the propositions of a Government on more special grounds; to narrow the objection to the person by whom, the time when, the manner in which, the extent to which, the proposition is made. The dextrous oppositionist should pursue the question through each of these categories. He should examine it under every head of the scholastic verse:—

'Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando.'

He may say that the measure is desirable in itself, but that the country will not accept it from the existing Government: that it is poisoned by the source from which it comes. He may likewise object to the degree: it is not enough; it is a miserable fragment, a pitiful abortion: or it is too much; it spoils a sound principle by carrying it too far. The category of time, however, affords to the accomplished objector a supply of argu-

ments which may fairly be deemed inexhaustible. The reason is simple and obvious. In judicial proceedings a certain time is fixed within which an action may be brought, and if it is brought within that time, a defendant must defend himself, or judgment will go against him. Dilatory pleas, and postponements of trial, are only allowed on special grounds, which must be proved by clear evidence, and are admitted with jealousy by the Court. But in parliamentary proceedings it is otherwise. A person may choose his own time for bringing on a question; but its progress depends upon the will of the House; and it may, after it has once been proposed, be delayed or postponed indefinitely. Hence the facility of objections founded on considerations of time is obvious.

First, the measure may be condemned as too late. The proper time is past. The favourable opportunity for legislation is gone. Public opinion, once inclined to the change, is now disinclined. The facilities which once existed for executing the law, no longer exist. There is no longer any demand for it in the country: no petitions in its favour have been lately presented. When it was wanted, it was not proposed; now it is proposed when it is not wanted. The public desire was met with inaction on the part of the Government; the public apathy is met with legislative activity in the same quarter.

Secondly, the measure may be condemned as premature. There has not been sufficient time for consideration. There has been no inquiry. The facts are not ascertained. The papers are not printed. The Committee have not reported. Members have not had time to communicate with their constituents. The country is taken by surprise. It is too late in the session for the proper consideration of the measure. It ought to be considered in connexion with another measure which is not yet introduced.

A similar see-saw of alternative topics is presented by the fertile subject of Committees. If a measure is proposed by a Government nakedly, on its own responsibility, then the necessity of preliminary inquiry is dwelt on. The Government is accused of rashness and precipitation, and of acting upon imperfect information. The importance of mature consideration, and of consulting men of practical knowledge on the subject, is placed in a prominent light. If, on the other hand, the Government propose a Committee, then it is said that they delegate their duties; that they shift their responsibility upon private members; that they send everything to a Committee upstairs. The objector is perhaps reminded that inquiry had, at some previous period, been recommended by his own friends. Nothing

daunted by this reminiscence, he falls back upon the never-failing argument of time. Inquiry was good then, but it is bad now. His friends proposed it, when it would have been useful, and it was refused. It is granted, when it is useless.

Another copious source of alternative criticism is the examination of the past with the light of subsequent experience. In order to criticise past conduct with fairness, the critic ought to put himself in the place of the agent at the time of action, and suppose himself to be limited to the information which the agent then had, or with due diligence might have had. It would be unreasonable to blame a person for acting in ignorance of a plot, the secret of which had been faithfully kept by the conspirators; or to accuse a physician of unskilfulness, in not detecting a disease, of which there were no sufficient external indications, and which was only revealed by a *post mortem* examination. Yet it is scarcely more reasonable, in taking a retrospect of the conduct of a Government, or of any of its officers, to censure it with the aid of all the information, which subsequent inquiries and disclosures have produced, and with the knowledge of the event and the practical consequences of the course adopted, which the lapse of time has afforded. Such is, however, the line of criticism usually followed by the oppositionist. The agent himself is necessarily confined to a dim prospective view of the future: the critic can take a clear retrospective view of the past; and by means of this retrospect, he can, without any remarkable exercise of ingenuity, discover some alternative course which may with plausibility, and perhaps with truth, be represented as preferable to that actually chosen. Nevertheless, it may not follow that in the position in which the agent was placed, and with the information at his command, he did not form the best judgment of which the circumstances admitted.

If a Government changes its policy, and adopts the alternative course recommended by its opponents, it may, perchance, hope to obtain from them some support or commendation, or at least to mitigate the strength of their opposition. A Government which is so weak as to form any such expectation will, however, in general find itself wofully disappointed. It will be told that the concession comes too late; that the policy, though sound in principle, is marred in the execution. If the Opposition during a war have recommended peace, and the Government makes peace, the conditions of the peace will be condemned. It will be said that the honour or interest of the country have been sacrificed, that sufficient securities for the future have not been taken; that a territory has been ceded, which was one of

the brightest gems of the Crown. If the Opposition during peace have recommended war, and the Government makes war, the time and manner of making the war will be censured; the generals will be denounced as incapable; the points of attack will be described as ill chosen: if a land expedition is sent, it will be alleged that the proper course was to operate by sea; if a sea expedition is sent, it will be affirmed that the proper course was to operate by land. Exceptions conceived in the same spirit may be taken on other subjects; an opposition leader must be very unskilful or very candid who allows himself to be seduced into an approbation of the Government by the mere adoption of a policy which he has previously recommended. Some specious *ad captandum* objection to the means selected for carrying the policy into effect may always be found; it would be very strange if he cannot (with Sheridan) say of the Government, that they have treated his measure as gypsies do stolen children; disfigured it, in order to make it pass for their own.

Whatever course the Government may take, the oppositionist must be able to find some ground, general or special, for censure. His business with respect to the Government is, in fine, to sustain the part of an *Advocatus Diaboli;* his office is to state the case against the Administration; to say everything which can be said with plausibility against every measure, every act, and every word of every Minister, and of every person in the service and under the control of the Ministry. It is clear that such an office, accompanied with a strong personal interest in misrepresenting, defaming, and undermining the Ministers, is liable to serious abuse. Nevertheless it has great and real advantages. It is of paramount importance that there should be a standing censorship of the Government, and that all its acts and measures should be subjected to a close and jealous scrutiny. Unless the Opposition assumes something of an official character, unless it has strong interests and passions which keep it in perpetual activity, there is a danger that its vigilance may slumber, or that its constancy may yield to some of the strong countervailing forces which a Government can in general set in motion. In times of insecurity and violence, indeed, opposition to a Government implies personal courage; the Government can intimidate its opponents. In the interval which elapsed between the assassination of Julius Cæsar, and the consolidation of the power of the young Augustus, the Roman Government was substantially in the hands of Mark Antony, and the opposition to it was led by Cicero. Of this bold but ineffectual opposition his fourteen Philippic orations are an imperishable monument. Its

consequence, however, was that Antony included him in the proscriptions of the second triumvirate, and his head and right hand were affixed on the rostra from which his invectives had been hurled. It is further related that Fulvia, the wife of Antony, gratified her vengeance by putting the head of Cicero on her lap, opening the mouth, and pricking the tongue with the pins which she wore in her hair.* The modern opposition orator has in general no ground for fearing that his philippics will lead to such results as these. Where a constitutional system is fully established in practice, the leaders of opposition have nothing to dread but the frowns of a court or the displeasure of men in power: but even then servility may thin the ranks of opposition; and corruption, adroitly and extensively used by a Government, may attract still more recruits or deserters into its camp. Opposition is another word for free discussion; it is the only efficient security for liberty, good government, and social progress. The majority have always force, but they have not always reason on their side: opposition is the voice of the minority; it is the expression of those who dissent from the policy and measures of the existing Government, and their protest and remonstrance ought always to be heard. It is, in our opinion, impossible to exaggerate the utility of a good, honest, and rational opposition: free criticism of the measures of the Government is the characteristic excellence of a free State; the principal instrument of civilisation and political improvement.

In a country, however, where a constitutional system has hardened into solidity, a parliamentary opposition exercises a large and indefinite power; and all large and indefinite powers

* In his first Philippic, Cicero lays down with great clearness the demands which an opposition orator is entitled to make of a government in a time of insecurity and violence. 'Video quam sit odiosum 'habere eundem iratum et armatum, quum tanta præsertim gladiorum 'sit impunitas. Sed proponam jus, ut opinor, æquum; quod M. An- 'tonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vitam ejus aut 'in mores cum contumeliâ dixero, quo minus mihi inimicissimus sit 'non recusabo; sin consuetudinem meam, quam in republicâ semper 'habui, tenuero, id est, si libere quæ sentiam de republicâ dixero, 'primum deprecor ne irascatur; deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto ut 'sic irascatur, ut civi. Armis utatur, si ita necesse est, ut dicit, sui 'defendendi causâ; iis qui pro republicâ quæ ipsis visa erunt dixerint, 'ista arma ne noceant. Quid hac postulatione dici potest æquius?' (c. 11.) It is remarkable that Juvenal, in describing the dangers of oratory, specifies the second Philippic as the main cause of Cicero's death; although the second Philippic was never actually delivered, and was only circulated in manuscript.

are liable to abuse. We have attempted to show what are the temptations which beset the path of the oppositionist, and induce him to prefer the pursuit of a sectional or personal advantage to the welfare of the entire community. We have pointed out the interests and passions which bias his choice and blind his judgment; and have illustrated the modes in which the power of criticising and objecting may be abused. So conscious, indeed, has the public become of the extent to which party interest and party feeling influence the conduct of opposition leaders, that a charge brought forward by them against a Government scarcely ever obtains general and unqualified belief, unless it is either admitted by the persons attacked, or substantiated by the inquiry of some impartial tribunal. Accusations made by the leaders of one party against the leaders of another are always received by the more cautious and intelligent portion of the public with distrust, and are considered rather as grounds for inquiry than for condemnation.

Parliamentary opposition is a security against the misconduct of the Government; but, like other constitutional securities, it requires to be itself watched. In a free government, the question, 'Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?' perpetually arises. The best security against the misconduct of an Opposition is to subject it to an efficient moral responsibility. This responsibility is chiefly enforced by two means. First, by the publicity of the debates, and by the free comments upon the conduct, motives, tactics, proceedings, and language of the parliamentary leaders in the periodical press; from the extemporaneous criticism of the daily newspapers, to the somewhat more deliberate judgment of the weekly journals; and to the fuller and more connected, though less pungent and less varied censures of the monthly and quarterly reviews. Secondly, by the prospect which every Opposition have in view, of success in their constant endeavours to dispossess the existing Government, and of being in consequence called upon to take office. In this case they must, to a certain extent, preserve their consistency: they must attempt, or seem to attempt, to carry into effect in Government the policy which they promoted in Opposition. The view of this contingency exercises a sobering effect upon the character of an Opposition, and tends to keep it within the limits of moderation. It feels itself 'Her Majesty's Opposition.' Its leaders are afraid of flattering the public, and of playing upon its credulity, by recommending measures which they know to be impracticable; because if the bid for public favour is so successful that the Ministry is turned out in order that they may be able to carry their policy into effect, they are sensible that they would undergo

an ignominious failure. It is a wholesome check upon the excesses of an Opposition that it should have the fear of office before its eyes. The state of things which existed in the English Colonial Governments with Houses of Assembly, before the system of responsible government was introduced, ensured almost perpetual discord. The Executive Government was independent of the Assembly, and the Opposition could not hope to come into office; there was therefore no check upon the factiousness of the Colonial Opposition, who might say any thing or do any thing without the fear of ever being called upon to carry their own policy into practical effect. Besides these two efficient means for enforcing the responsibility of a Parliamentary Opposition, there is likewise the elective character of the members, and the influence which constituents and the desire of being re-elected exercise upon a representative.

On the principle of curing one evil by another—of forging a release to a forged bond—corruption has been used by Governments as an antidote to the determined interested partiality of a professional opposition. Despairing of obtaining a fair judgment from opponents, Ministers have set about securing support by purchasing adherents, as the only available resource against faction. A Parliamentary Government carried on by means of corruption is doubtless worse than a Parliamentary Government carried on without corruption; but it is far better than a despotism, which rests on force, and it offers a far better prospect of improvement. A corrupt Parliamentary Government seeks, in its own fashion, to conciliate public opinion; the submission which it produces is voluntary, not enforced; its course is legal, and it does not interfere with the freedom of discussion.—These are great recommendations, which a despotism, maintained by the bayonet, altogether wants, and hence we see that systems founded on corruption (such, for instance, as the government of Scotland in the early part of this century*), may be speedily converted into a state of things in which the popular voice prevails, and the basis of government is pure and incorrupt.

The remarks which we have hitherto made relate to the domestic influences of an Opposition—to the manner in which it works and is worked upon in its own country. It remains that we should say a few words upon its operation with respect to foreign nations.

In ancient times there were no newspapers, and there was no reporting of speeches for the public use. The vituperative

* See the interesting account of the system of Scottish government at this time in Lord Cockburn's Life of Lord Jeffrey.

attacks which the rival orators made upon one another were confined to the audience actually present, except in the cases where an orator reported his own speech, and published a few copies of it. Consequently, the fierce personalities of the Roman senate, and the mutual invectives of the great party leaders, their unsparing criminations and recriminations, were not circulated in the provinces or in foreign states. They did not become known, except by vague and slowly travelling rumours, to the disaffected subjects of the Republic, to its wavering friends, or its declared enemies. In modern times it is otherwise. The speeches of the Opposition leaders are reported at length in the native newspapers, in which they travel over the whole world, and they are moreover reproduced in translations by the journals of foreign countries. In this manner, opposition criticism, which is intended by its authors to operate upon the opinions of their own countrymen, falls into the hands of persons who have other views and interests, and who may use it for purposes wholly different from those for which it was destined.

The effect of opposition speeches in foreign countries depends upon the subject to which they relate. If they relate to a domestic subject, they will be used for proving the existence of internal sources of weakness, such as local disturbances, scarcity of food, bad state of the finances, failure of trade or manufactures. On questions such as these, inflammatory and exaggerated descriptions of social evils are often put forward for party purposes, and at home are received with qualified belief, from a knowledge of the object with which they are made. In foreign newspapers, however, they are cited as the reluctant testimony of a native with respect to his own country, as the admissions of an unwilling witness; whereas, in truth, they may be the highly coloured pictures of an eager partisan, seeking to establish a case against the Government, and to enhance his own political reputation. Scarcely a session passes in England without some impassioned opposition orator representing the Ministers for the time being as having brought the country to the brink of ruin. Such rhetorical exaggerations produce, in general, but little effect upon the convictions of the native public; they have been accustomed to see the sun of England set from time to time in the speeches of desponding patriots. But to a foreigner, who is watching for proofs of the decline of England, and who believes that its political state is rotten and unsound, these statements appear as literal truths, as the disclosures forced from calm observers by the irresistible evidence of facts; as

> 'Close denotements, working from the heart,
> That passion cannot rule.'

When the speeches relate to foreign affairs, the effect which they are likely to produce is of a different nature. While a negotiation with a foreign State is pending, or even after it has been concluded, an opinion expressed by an opposition leader that the demand of his own Government is unjust, or that its course was unfair, may create an impression in the foreign country that the Government with which they are in dispute is not supported at home by public opinion. This may embolden them to resist claims which may be just, or to make unjust pretensions of their own. In the case of a war, the effect produced may be more striking. An Opposition may condemn entirely the policy of a war, or they may censure the manner in which the war is carried on. In either event, their conduct may wear an unpatriotic appearance; they may seem to sympathise with the enemy, to be indifferent to the victories of their own countrymen, to dwell upon their failures, to damp the public enthusiasm, and thus to diminish the chances of a successful result. The nature of an Opposition in a constitutional State is better understood at present on the Continent than it was at the beginning of the century. There is therefore less danger than there was formerly of criticisms upon the conduct of a Government being ascribed to unpatriotic and anti-national feelings. In the late war, however, the Whig party, who opposed the war policy, were believed by Bonaparte to be ready to act with him; and he was surprised at making the discovery that Mr. Fox was as firmly devoted to English interests, and as little disposed to intrigue with a foreign Government, as the strongest supporter of the system of Mr. Pitt.

The existence of a permanent opposition to the Government, of a perpetual liberty of political criticism, and of difference of opinions upon great public measures, is so abhorrent to the ideas of a despotic Court, and lies so completely out of its horizon, that censure of the foreign policy of a Ministry, and of the conduct of a war, is peculiarly liable to misunderstanding by the Monarch and his Ministers. It is likely to beget unfounded expectations of all kinds in foreign Governments, and to produce mischievous effects not intended by the opposition leaders. Great discretion, therefore, ought to be exercised in the use of this important privilege. The opposition orator, who speaks upon foreign policy, should remember that he holds in his hand a two-edged sword, which cuts in a double direction; that his words are overheard, not only by his own countrymen, but also by foreign countries. A similar reserve should be exercised by him in commenting upon the conduct of the military and naval commanders employed by the Government of his own country.

It is now universally admitted that unity of command is one of the first conditions for the successful conduct of military operations, and this unity is seriously infringed if the Opposition erect themselves into a volunteer Council of War, whose advice is published to all the world. The secrecy, the rapidity, and the unity of will, which belong to a despotism, undoubtedly give it an advantage over a free Government, for the management of a war. This advantage is at its maximum when the sovereign is also the general, as Livy long ago pointed out. 'Reges, non 'liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed, domini rerum tempo- 'rumque, trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur.' But the disadvantage in question may be reduced to a low term by the considerate forbearance, as it may be increased unnecessarily by the factious and unreasonable impatience, of an Opposition.

In general, the character of a free Government is that the discussions on the most important subjects of foreign and domestic policy take place in a public assembly; that all the errors of the official men, all the national disasters and calamities, all the weak points in the state of public affairs, are carefully noted and brought into prominent view, (sometimes with rhetorical amplification, and the aid of personal invective,) by the native critics of the Ministry. This constant difference of opinion upon the management of public affairs, combined with the interested struggle of rival parties contending for power, frequently exhibits a free Government in an unfavourable and undignified attitude. Its domestic quarrels are laid bare to the public observation; the momentary ebullitions of temper, the mutual reproaches called forth by wounded vanity, or by disappointed ambition, are taken down *verbatim* in short-hand, carefully copied out, printed in newspapers, and circulated in a few hours over the whole civilised world.

Vituperation of opponents has always been one of the favourite weapons of orators. The license of invective, in which the ancient orators indulged, has been abridged by the refinement of modern manners, particularly with respect to charges affecting private life. But the eagerness of personal contention, and the jealousy of personal rivals, always lead, in deliberative assemblies, to mutual attacks of the leaders of opposite parties. Such attacks, moreover, though they may raise incidental issues unconnected with the subject of debate, and may often be introduced unnecessarily, cannot always be considered as irrelevant. Advice delivered in a deliberative assembly derives a large part of its force from the personal character of the speaker; from the confidence placed in his wisdom and integrity. An attempt to discredit his personal authority, by impugning his conduct

and motives, is therefore material to the question. In a court of justice, such topics would be necessarily irrelevant; for a paid advocate does not express his private convictions, or throw his own character into the scale; and therefore a personal attack upon the advocate of the opposite party would be wholly foreign to the merits of the case. An opposition orator, who is influenced by patriotic motives, observes certain limits in his attacks on his successful rivals, and abstains from extremities which would be dangerous to the State. He feels that he has with them a common interest in sustaining the character and moral authority of the assembly to which he belongs; that he is a wheel in the same machine; and that if he arrests the action of the machinery, he destroys his own importance as well as utility.

In a despotic State, there is no free discussion, and no political opposition. The public expression of opinion adverse to the Government is prevented by fear, or suppressed by force. All the indecorum, all the public scandals, of opposition criticism, all the mutual vituperations of party leaders, which occur in a free State, are therefore absent. It is this apparent and external tranquillity, this superficial calm, this abstinence from rough language, from disrespectful expressions to men in authority, this hypocritical and enforced silence, which so much captivates the admirers of an absolutist system of Government. They forget, however, that passions are not extinguished by compression, that men are not convinced by being silenced; and that when all legal outlet for dissent is rigidly closed, and all argumentative discussion is prohibited, opposition is likely to take the form of rebellion, and the musket to supply the place of the tongue and the pen. They forget, likewise, that the defects and abuses of a political system are not annihilated by being concealed. In general, publicity, if not a necessary condition, is one of the most effective means, for their correction. Publicity may have certain incidental disadvantages, particularly in foreign countries, where the truth is more liable to distortion, and where the facts are less clearly understood. But the openness of a free Government is honest, frank, and indicative of confidence in the soundness of the national institutions. What would be the result, if all the low and selfish intrigues, all the secret calumnies of rivals, all the favouritism, all the corruption, all the pillage of public funds, all the persecution of individuals, all the arbitrary imprisonments, which flourish under the shade of a despotic Court and a despotic Government, were laid bare to the world? If the disclosure of the every day proceedings of a despot and his satellites would not exhibit such a hideous

picture as would shock, not only his own subjects, but the rest of the civilised world, why the trembling anxiety for concealment, why the morbid dread of publicity in every form, why the inflexible and vigilant prohibition of public discussion, why the censorship of the press, or the quasi-censorship of the press, enforced by threats, or friendly hints, more effectual even than a preliminary revision, which characterise a despotism? If the acts of a despotic Government will bear the light, why are they studiously shrouded in impenetrable darkness? According to the maxims of the Criminal Law, concealment is evidence of guilt. If all the acts of a despotic Government were fully known, the scandals and brawls of a free Government would appear mere blemishes in comparison with the abominations which would be brought to light.

There is a saying of Napoleon, which is as shallow as most of his other sayings on political subjects,—that in twenty years Europe would be either Cossack or Republican. This doctrine has not (as is natural) been lost on so congenial a spirit as the Emperor Nicholas; and he has converted it into a general denunciation of all governments in which an hereditary king is controlled by a representative chamber.

M. de Custine, in his excellent work on Russia, represents the Emperor as having, in a conversation with himself, made the following remark: —

'I can understand republicanism,—it is a plain and straightforward form of government, or, at least, it might be so: I can understand absolute monarchy, for I am myself the head of such an order of things; but I cannot understand a representative monarchy: it is the government of lies, fraud, and corruption; and I would rather fall back even upon China than ever adopt it.' *

It is natural that the Emperor Nicholas should consider all constitutional restraints upon the will of the hereditary chief of a State as pernicious, and that he should proscribe them by his imperial anathema. Experience has, however, proved that a constitutional monarchy is a far more solid, durable, and substantial form of government than an absolute monarchy; and that a political opposition, though it may be an institution highly distasteful to a reigning despot, is a necessary condition for freedom and political progress.

* Russia (Lond. 1854), p. 135.

ART. II.—1. *Esquisse Historique sur le Cardinal Mezzofanti.* Par A. MANAVIT. Paris: 1853.

2. *On the extraordinary Powers of Cardinal Mezzofanti as a Linguist.* By THOMAS WATTS, Esq. [Proceedings of the Philological Society. January 23. 1852.] London: 1852.

3. *Catalogo della Libreria dell' Eminentissimo Cardinal Giuseppe Mezzofanti.* Compilato per ordine di lingue, da Filippo Bonifazi, Librajo Romano. Roma: 1851.

THE Poet Ennius, if we believe the account of Aulus Gellius, was no little vain of his attainments as a linguist, and used to boast that 'he had three hearts, because he was able to speak in 'three tongues, the Greek, the Latin, and the Oscan.' What would the good old 'Father' have said, if he had had Cardinal Mezzofanti for his theme? It would be a curious physiological problem to determine what degree of physical development in the comparative scale suggested by his quaint illustration, should be taken to represent the faculty of language as it existed in this most wonderful linguist.

Unfortunately, the materials for a complete and satisfactory estimate of his character and attainments are scanty and difficult of access. The printed materials are for the most part mere sketches, vague, declamatory, and often of very doubtful authenticity. M. Manavit's essay, the most recent and most ambitious of them all, is extremely meagre and barren of details; nor does it even attempt anything like a philosophical analysis of the nature or the extent of the Cardinal's acquirements, considered ethnologically. Mr. Watts' short but able and scholarlike paper read before the Philological Society, although it is far more valuable in this respect, and is exceedingly interesting as a collection of the fragmentary notices of Mezzofanti published by tourists and others during the several stages of his career, yet could not, from its very form, be expected to contain full particulars of his personal history. And, strange as it may seem, nothing deserving the name of a memoir, much less of a regular biography, has as yet appeared in Italy. It was understood for some time after the Cardinal's death, that his friend and successor in the charge of the Vatican Library, M. Laureani, was engaged in the preparation of an authentic memoir; and it is probable that this expectation (which has unhappily been frustrated by M. Laureani's death) may have deterred others from undertaking the task. Probably, too, the unsettled condition of affairs in Rome at the time of Mezzofanti's

death, which occurred during the residence of the Papal Court at Gaeta, may have withdrawn public attention from what, in ordinary times, would have been a most memorable event. But, whatever may have been the occasion of this seemingly unaccountable neglect, we regret to say, that, with the exception of two or three slight and unsatisfactory notices in the newspapers and critical journals of the time, the literature of his native country,—of Bologna, the place of his birth; of Modena, Florence and Naples, with all which he had long maintained the closest scientific, literary, and friendly relations; above all of Rome, where, for the last twenty years of his life, he was one of the most prominent notabilities, — has not as yet produced a single record in any degree worthy of so distinguished a name.

The interest, however, which attaches to such a career as that of Cardinal Mezzofanti is a thing entirely apart from the associations of friendship or of country. In one department of liberal study it is entirely without a parallel, and may well be regarded as among the most curious chapters in the annals of the human mind. It is impossible not to feel, that, independently of the interest which must attach to the personal history of any man rising to literary eminence in the face of great difficulties, there is something in the very notion of Mezzofanti's peculiar accomplishment so completely without example, as not only to deserve a permanent record, but even to invite a minute and careful philosophical investigation. It will be easily understood, therefore, that we take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the publication of the *Esquisse* of M. Manavit, less for its own intrinsic value, than as a means of bringing the whole subject under the notice of our readers; availing ourselves not only of the materials collected by him and by Mr. Watts, but also of much additional information, partly gleaned from the Italian and German critical journals, partly derived from personal knowledge, and from other private, but perfectly credible sources. We have included among our materials the catalogue of his limited, but exceedingly curious library. In itself it is a singularly inaccurate and unskilful compilation, and abounds with the strangest and most amusing blunders. But it is sufficiently correct to be employed as we propose; -- on a principle similar to that on which geologists undertake, from the vegetable remains of the several geological periods, to arrange and classify the various grades of animal life which prevailed in each, and even to describe the structure and the habits by which they were respectively distinguished. It is true that in many cases the estimate of a man's attainments derived from a consideration of the books which he has collected, would be fallacious in the last degree. There are

but too many who collect books for the mere collection sake, and with no higher or more practical object than that of placing them upon their shelves. But every one who knew Cardinal Mezzofanti, knows well that it was not so with him. The library which he hoarded his modest means to accumulate, was no idle show-room. It was the *bonâ fide* workshop in which he pursued his extraordinary vocation; and it may safely be taken as some gauge or measure of his linguistic attainments;—imperfect and inadequate it is true, because some of the languages or dialects with which he was familiar possess no printed literature at all, but, at least as far as it goes, perfectly trustworthy and reliable.

There is no branch of scholarship which has left fewer traces in literature, or has received a more scanty measure of justice from history, than the faculty of language. Viewed in the light of a curious but unpractical pursuit, it is admired for a time, and, perhaps, enjoys an exaggerated popularity; but it passes away like a nine days' wonder, and seldom finds a permanent record. Hence, while the literature of every country abounds with memoirs of distinguished poets, philosophers, and historians, few, even among professed antiquarians, have directed their attention to the history of eminent linguists, whether in ancient or in modern times. We had hoped that the case of Cardinal Mezzofanti, by suggesting the necessity of a comparison with other distinguished linguists, would have furnished to some of his biographers an occasion for the compilation of some such memoir; but it would seem as if the Cardinal's attainments have been considered by them all as completely beyond all idea of competition, and as if, in the eyes of his admirers, his fame had effectually eclipsed that of all his predecessors in the same department of study.

And yet, on the other hand, in order to form a true estimate of the actual extent of Mezzofanti's accomplishment, it is absolutely necessary to compare it with what others had done before him. It is impossible to judge accurately of his proportions, while he stands in the solitary eminence which he has hitherto occupied. In the sketch of his life, therefore, which we propose, we have thought that it might not be uninteresting to prefix to the actual examination of his unquestionably extraordinary acquirements, a brief summary notice of the most eminent linguists of our own and foreign countries. The subject, it is true, is one which demands a far more detailed investigation than is consistent with the limits of a paper like the present. But it is one for which the reader will look in vain to the ordinary repositories of curious information. Neither

in the miscellaneous learning of writers like Bayle and Gibbon, nor in the professional historians of the curiosities of literature, like Feyjoo or Disraeli, nor even in the pages of the philologists themselves, like Adelung, Pallas, or Vater, shall we find any detailed notice of a subject, which, nevertheless, must have deeply interested them all. We are far from professing or expecting to supply the want; but we may at least hope to draw to the subject the attention of others, who enjoy more leisure and opportunity for the investigation.

It would not appear that among the ancients the faculty of language was often cultivated to any remarkable extent. The single prominent instance which is recorded—that of Mithridates, King of Pontus—is so extraordinary as to distance all competition; and neither the great collectors of the 'curiosities 'of classic literature,' Aulus Gellius and Athenæus, nor Valerius Maximus, its diligent anecdotist, nor Pliny, whose industry has left no department in nature, letters, or art unexplored, alludes to a single linguist, for whom we would not venture to find a dozen rivals among the couriers or valets-de-place to be met with any morning in the Place Vendôme, or at Leicester Square. The only contrast whom Gellius places in opposition to Mithridates, is the poet Ennius, whose attainments comprised, as we have seen, but three languages, Greek, Latin, and Oscan.* Valerius Maximus, in his celebrated chapter '*De Studio et Industriâ*,' produces in the department of languages nothing more wonderful than Cato, who studied Greek literature in his old age, Themistocles, who acquired a knowledge of Persian during his exile, in order to recommend himself to Xerxes, and Publius Crassus, who was so familiar with Greek in all its five dialects, that he always gave his decrees as Prætor in the native dialects of the various suitors at his tribunal.† And Pliny speaks of the case of Mithridates in such terms as to make it plain that he considered it not alone unprecedented in degree, but even beyond any parallel at all worthy of being recorded.‡

But if the case of Mithridates be a solitary one, the marvellous character of the accomplishment as it existed in him may well make compensation for the rarity of its occurrence. According to Aulus Gellius, he 'was thoroughly conversant' (*percalluit*) with the languages of all the nations (*twenty-five in number*) over which his rule extended. The other writers who relate

* Aul. Gellius, xvii. 17.
† Valer. Maximus, viii. 7.
‡ Hist. Nat. vii. 24., and again xxv. 2.

the circumstance,—Valerius Maximus, Pliny, and Solinus,—make the number only twenty-two. Some commentators have regarded the story as a gross exaggeration; and others have sought to diminish its marvellousness by explaining it of different dialects, rather than of distinct languages. But there does not appear in the narrative of these writers any reason for the doubt or for the restriction. Pliny declares that 'it is quite certain;' and the matter-of-fact tone in which they all relate it, makes it clear that they wished to be understood literally. It was his invariable practice, they tell us, to communicate with all the subjects of his polyglot empire directly and in person, and 'never 'through an interpreter;' and Gellius roundly affirms that he was able to converse in each and any one of these tongues 'with as much correctness as if it were his native dialect.'

But whatever judgment we may form as to the credibility of the story of Mithridates, it stands almost alone in classic history. We read of no remarkable linguists, even among the accomplished scholars of the Augustan age; and, perhaps, in the absence of positive and exact information on the subject, it may not unreasonably be conjectured that, among the Christian scholars of the second and third centuries, we might find a wider range of linguistic attainments than among their gentile contemporaries. The critical study of the Bible itself involved a familiarity not only with the Greek and Hebrew, but with more than one cognate oriental dialect beside. St. Jerome, besides the classic languages and his native Illyrian, is known to have been familiar with several of the Eastern tongues; and it is far from improbable that the commentators and expositors of the Bible, such as Origen, Didymus (the celebrated blind teacher of the great Christian school of Alexandria), St. Augustine (who, besides Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Hebrew, may, from his Manichean associations, be presumed to have known other Eastern languages), Theodore of Mopsuestia, and even the more modern St. Ephrem the Syrian, may be taken as amongst the most favourable specimens of the linguists of the classic times.

From the death of Constantine, however, the study would seem to have declined, even among ecclesiastics. The disruption of the empire naturally tended to diminish the intercourse of the East and West, and, by consequence, the interchange of their languages. The knowledge of both Greek and Latin, which in the classic times had been the ordinary accomplishment of every educated man, became rare and imperfect. Pope Gregory the Great, the most eminent Western scholar of his day, spoke Greek very imperfectly; and a still earlier instance is recorded

in which another pope, a man of undoubted ability in other respects, was unable to translate the letters of the Greek Patriarchs, much less to communicate with the Greek ambassadors, except through an interpreter.* The wars of the Crusaders, the establishment of the Christian Kingdom at Jerusalem, and still more the foundation of the Latin empire at Constantinople, had the effect of reviving the intercourse. Many of the knights and palmers who returned from the East, brought with them the knowledge, not only of Greek, but of more than one of the oriental languages beside. The long imprisonments to which, during the holy wars and the Latin campaigns against the Turks, they were often subjected, gave them in some instances a perfect familiarity with Persian, Arabic, Syriac, and Turkish.

It is to one of these imprisonments that we are indebted for the first origin of a long series of publications, which, in more recent times, have rendered very important services to the science of philology. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, a Hungarian soldier, named John Schildberger, who was serving in a campaign against the Turks in Hungary, was made prisoner by the Turks; and, on his return home, after a captivity of thirty-two years, published (in 1428) an account of his adventures. He conceived the idea (which has since become so popular) of illustrating these travels by appending, as a specimen of the languages of the countries in which he had sojourned, the Lord's Prayer in Armenian, and also in the Tartar tongue. The example was imitated by later scholars. William Postel, in 1538, published the Lord's Prayer in five languages; Theodore Bibliander, ten years later, increased the number to fourteen; Conrad Gesner, in 1555, to twenty-two, to which Angelo Rocca, an Augustinian bishop, added three more (one of them Chinese), in 1591; and Jerome Megiser, in 1592, extended the catalogue to forty. John Baptiste Gramaye, a professor of Louvain, made a still more considerable stride in advance. He was taken prisoner by the Algerine corsairs in the beginning of the next century, and collected no less than a hundred different versions of the same prayer, which he published in 1622; but his work seems to have attracted very little notice; for, more than forty years later, a collection made (1668) by Dr. Wilkins (an English divine, mathematician, and philologer of considerable eminence) contains no more than fifty.

* When Nestorius wrote to Pope Celestine (A.D. 430) to give an account of the controversy since known under his name, the latter laid his letter aside for a time, 'not being acquainted with the Greek 'language.' See Walch's *Historie der Ketzereien*, vol. v. p. 701.

In all these works, however, the only object appears to have been to collect as large as possible a number of languages, without any attention to critical arrangement. But, in the latter part of the same century, the collection of Andrew Müller (which comprises eighty-three Pater Nosters) exhibits a considerable advance in this particular. Men began, too, to arrange and classify the various families of languages. Francis Junius published the Lord's Prayer in nineteen different languages of the German family; and Nicholas Witsen devoted himself to the languages of Northern Asia—the great Siberian family,—in eleven of which he published the same prayer in 1692. This improvement, however, was not universal; for although the great collection of John Chamberlayne and David Wilkins, printed at Amsterdam in 1715, contains the Lord's Prayer in a hundred and fifty-two languages, and that of Gesner, the well-known *Orientalischer und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister* (Leipzig, 1748), in two hundred, they are both compiled upon the old plan, and have little value except as mere specimens of the various languages which they contain.

It is not so with a collection published near the close of the same century, by a learned Spanish Jesuit, Don Lorenzo Hervas y Pandura.* It is but one of a vast variety of philological works from the same prolific pen, which appeared, year after year, at Cesena, originally in Italian, though they were all afterwards published in a Spanish translation, in the author's native country. Father Hervas's collection contains the Lord's Prayer in no less than *three hundred and seven* languages, besides hymns and other prayers in twenty-two additional dialects, in which the author was not able to find the Pater Noster. But its most important feature consists in the addition of grammatical analyses and notes, by which it is sought to explain and illustrate the structure of the languages themselves. These, as might be expected in a first essay, are often imperfect and unsatisfactory; but they are at least a step in the right direction, and led the way to the more accurate and scientific investigations of the present century.

Almost at the very same time with this important publication of Hervas, a more extensive philological work made its appearance in the extreme north, under the patronage, and indeed the direct inspiration, of the Empress Catherine II. of Russia. The

* Saggio prattico delle Lingue: con Prolegomene, e una Raccolta de Orazioni Domenicali in più di 300 Lingue e Dialetti. Cesena, 1787.

† Linguarum totius Orbis Vocabularia comparativa, Augustissimi curâ collecta. Sectionis primæ, Linguas Europæ et Asiæ complectens, Pars prior. 2 vols. 4to. Petropoli 1786—9.

plan of this compilation was more comprehensive than that of the collectors of the Lord's Prayer. It consisted of a vocabulary of two hundred and seventy-three familiar and ordinary words, in part selected by the Empress herself, and drawn up in her own hand. The vocabulary, which is very judiciously chosen, is translated into two hundred and one languages. The compilation of this vast comparative catalogue of words, was entrusted to the celebrated philologer, Pallas, assisted by the most eminent scholars of the northern capital; among whom the most efficient seems to have been Bakmeister, the Librarian of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg. The opportunities afforded by the patronage of a sovereign who held at her disposition the services of the functionaries of a vast, and, in the literal sense of the word, a polyglot empire like Russia, were turned to the best account. Languages entirely beyond the reach of private research, were unlocked at her command; and the rude and hitherto almost unnamed dialects of Siberia, of Northern Asia, of the Halieutian islanders, and the nomadic tribes of the Arctic shores, find a place in this monster vocabulary, beside the more polished tongues of Europe and the East. Nevertheless, the vocabulary of Pallas (probably from the circumstance of its being printed altogether in the Russian character*) is but little familiar to our philologers, and is chiefly known from the valuable materials which it supplied to Adelung and his colleagues in the compilation of the well-known *Mithridates*. Of the last-named work, it is hardly necessary for us to speak.† It closes this long series of philological

* A portion of the edition contains a Latin preface, explanatory of the plan and contents; but the majority of the copies have this preface in Russian; and, in all, the character employed throughout the body of the work is Russian. This character, however, may be mastered with so little difficulty, that, practically, its adoption can hardly be said to interfere materially with the usefulness of the work; and the use of the Russian character had many advantages over the Roman in accurately representing the various sounds, especially those of the northern languages.

An alphabetical digest (4 vols. 4to. 1790—1) of all the words contained in the vocabulary (arranged in the order of the alphabet without reference to language) was compiled, a few years later, by Theodor Jankiewitsch de Miriewo, by which it may be seen at once to what language each word belongs. But it is said to be most unscientific in its plan and execution; and the Empress was so dissatisfied with it, that the work was suppressed and is now extremely rare.

† Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde; mit dem Vater Unser, als Sprach-Probe, in beynahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mund-Arten. Von Jos. Christoph Adelung, Berlin, 1806. The first

collections; but although in its general plan, it is only an expansion of the original idea of the first simple traveller who presented to his countrymen, as specimens of the languages of the countries which he had visited, versions in each language of that Prayer which is most familiar to every Christian, yet it is not only far more extensive in its range than any of its predecessors, but also infinitely more philosophical in its method. There can be no doubt that the selection, in the first instance, of a prayer so idiomatical, and so constrained in its form, as the Lord's Prayer, was far from judicious. As a specimen of the structure of the various languages, the choice of it was singularly infelicitous; and the utter disregard of the principles of criticism (and in truth of everything beyond the mere multiplication of specimens), which marks all the early collections, is an additional aggravation of its original defect. But it is not so in the *Mithridates* of Adelung. The *Mithridates* retains the Lord's Prayer, it is true, like the rest, as the specimen (although not the only one) of each language; but it abandons the unscientific arrangement of the older collections, the languages in it being distributed into groups according to their ethnographical affinities. The versions, too, are much more carefully made; they are accompanied by notes and critical illustrations, and in general, each language or dialect is minutely and elaborately described. In a word, the *Mithridates*, although, as might be expected, still falling far short of perfection, is a strictly philosophical contribution to the study of ethnography; and has formed the basis, as well as the text, of the researches of all the masters in the modern schools of comparative philology.

We have alluded to this curious series of publications more as illustrating the progress of philological studies, than as affording any adequate idea of the actual attainments of the several authors. Many of them made no pretence, in reference to the great majority of the languages included in their several collections, to anything beyond the simple character of compilers. Very few, indeed, could claim a more intimate acquaintance with them all

volume contains the languages of Asia; the second, which, under the direction of Dr. Severinus Vater, was published after Adelung's death, but chiefly from his own papers, comprises the European families, the Celtic, German, Basque, &c.; the third, which is in the languages of Africa and America, appeared in parts between 1812 and 1816; and the work was completed in the following year by a supplementary volume, edited by Vater and the younger Adelung. For the languages of America, the work is chiefly indebted to the researches of Humboldt.

than was required for the mere mechanical accuracy of their publication; and even the few whose scholarship was of a higher and more ambitious character, fall far short of that lofty standard by which those are to be measured whose names can be considered worthy of any comparison with that of Mezzofanti.

Among the many who have attained to eminence as linguists, the vast majority will be found to have contented themselves with such familiarity as enabled them to understand and critically interpret the written languages; and, even in this respect, it is exceedingly difficult, in by far the greater number of cases, to ascertain the true extent of the accomplishment. The earlier linguists after the revival of letters, for the most part devoted themselves to the cultivation of the dead languages. The Greek scholars who were driven to the west by the Moslem occupation of Constantinople, brought their language in its best and most attractive form to the universities of Italy. The Jews and Moors who were exiled from Spain by the harsh and impolitic measures of Ferdinand and Isabella, deposited through all the schools of Europe the seeds of a solid and critical knowledge of the Hebrew, Arabic, and their cognate languages; and the fruits may be discerned at a comparatively early period in the biblical studies of the time. The Complutensian Polyglot (1517) though the first, is a most creditable example of the zeal with which the study of Oriental literature was even then pursued.

It is not our purpose, however, to dwell upon the mere scholars or philologers who form the larger proportion of our catalogue of linguists. We shall content ourselves with enumerating the most eminent among them;—our principal concern being with those in whom the faculty of *speaking* a multiplicity of languages was remarkably developed.

It is curious that almost all the British linguists (except the Admirable Crichton) belong to the former class — that of mere scholars. Neither Brian Walton, the compiler of the Walton Polyglot; nor his friend and fellow-labourer, Edward Castell, author of the Polyglot Lexicon; nor the learned and witty, but eccentric, Bishop Wilkins; nor John Chamberlayne, editor of the well-known collection of Pater Nosters: nor even the accomplished and elegant scholar, Sir William Jones, though he is known to have acquired, more or less completely, no less than twenty-eight languages; would appear to have possessed a facility of *speaking* languages at all commensurate with their attainments as scholars in that department.

Perhaps, indeed, the same may be said of all those who have *written* much in this department of languages. The amount of time necessarily devoted to mere authorship, may be supposed

to have made it difficult for them to cultivate the accomplishment of speaking; we have little doubt, moreover, that the two pursuits are entirely distinct in their character, and that very different faculties of mind are required in order to command eminent success in one and in the other. The great biblical scholars Theodore Buchmann*, Adrian Van der Jonghe, and Bonaventure Smet; the well-known naturalists Gesner and Claude Duret †; even the eminent travellers (although travel would seem specially calculated to develope the faculty of speaking) Thevenot, the originator of the Academie des Sciences; Thevet; Megiser, author of the *Thesaurus Polyglottus;* Gramaye; and the elder Niebuhr; all owe their reputation as linguists, exclusively, or almost exclusively, to book knowledge.

The same is true, although perhaps in a minor degree, of many of the great modern masters of philology. Vater's fame rests chiefly on his Oriental studies. Rask gave himself entirely to the analogies of the Sanscrit with its European descendants, and especially to the great Scandinavian family. Nor are we aware that even Adelung himself, notwithstanding the universal and all-embracing scope of his immortal work, has established any great claim to what constitutes the peculiar fame of Mithridates, beyond the mere assumption of his name as the title of his publication.

There are some of the modern scholars, however, whom it would be most unjust to include in this general description. First among them will occur to every reader the name of the celebrated Peter Simon Pallas, to whom we are indebted for the great comparative vocabulary already described. He was born at Berlin in 1741, and his early studies were mainly directed to natural philosophy, which he appears to have cultivated in all its branches. His reputation as a naturalist procured for him in 1767 an invitation from Catherine II. of Russia, to exchange the distinguished position which he occupied at the Hague for a professorship in the Academy of St. Petersburg. His arrival in that capital occurred just at the time of the departure of the celebrated

* Buchmann may possibly fail of being recognised under this name (Ang. *Bookman*). Like most of the scholars of his day, he *classicized* it into the Greek equivalent, *Bibliander*. The same may be said of an author mentioned in a former page (29), Van der Jonghe (*Young*), who translated this Dutch name into *Junius;* and of the Belgian Smet (*Smith*), who appears in the Latin of his time as *Vulcanius*.

† This eminent but eccentric man is said to have known seventeen languages, and even to have persuaded himself that he had discovered a key to the languages of birds and beasts, and even that of the angelic choir. He died in 1611.

scientific expedition to Siberia for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus; and, as their mission also embraced the geography and natural history of Siberia, Pallas gladly accepted an invitation to accompany them. They set out in June, 1768, and after exploring the vast plains of European Russia, the borders of Calmuck Tartary, and the shores of the Caspian, they crossed the Ural Mountains, examined the celebrated mines of Catherinenburg, proceeded to Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia, and penetrated across the mountains to the Chinese frontier, whence Pallas returned by the route of Astrakan and the Caucasus to St. Petersburg. He reached that city in July, 1774, with broken health and hair prematurely whitened by sickness and fatigue. He resumed his place in the academy; and was rewarded by the Empress with many distinctions and lucrative employments, one of which was the charge of instructing the young grand-dukes, Alexander and Constantine. It was during these years that he devoted himself to the compilation of the *Vocabularia Comparativa*; but, in 1795, he returned to the Crimea, (where he had obtained an extensive gift of territory from the Empress) for the purpose of recruiting his health and pursuing his researches. After a residence there of fifteen years, he returned to Berlin in 1810, where he died in the following year. It will be seen, therefore, that the study of languages was but a subordinate pursuit of this extraordinary man. His fame is mainly due to his researches in science. It is to him that we owe the reduction of the astronomical observations of the expedition of 1768; and Cuvier gives him the credit of completely renewing the science of geology, and of almost entirely re-constructing that of natural history. It is difficult, nevertheless, to arrive at an exact conclusion as to his powers as a speaker of foreign languages, although it is clear that his habits of life as a traveller and scientific explorer, not only facilitated, but even directly necessitated for him the exercise of that faculty to a far greater degree than in the case of most of the older philologers.

The career of Pallas bears a very remarkable resemblance to that of a more modern scholar, also a native of Berlin, Julius Henry Klaproth. He was the son of the celebrated chemist of that name, and was born in 1783. In his youth he devoted himself to his father's science and its kindred studies; but, after a time, he gave his attention exclusively to the cultivation of Oriental languages; and, in 1802, established at Dresden the *Asiatic Magazine*, which has since rendered so many important services to Eastern literature. Like Pallas, he was invited to St. Petersburg, and, like him, he attached himself to an expedition partly scientific, partly political, despatched to Pekin in 1805. Like

him, too, he separated from the main body of the expedition for the purpose of more unrestrainedly pursuing his scientific researches; and he returned to Russia in 1807, with a vast and various collection of notes on the Chinese, Mantchou, Mogul, and Japanese languages. With a similar object he was shortly after sent by the academy to collect information on the languages of the tribes of the Caucasus, from which mission he returned in 1810. He soon after quitted St. Petersburg for his native city, where, however, he did not settle; but, after spending some time in Italy, he took up his residence in Paris, established the *Société Asiatique*, and became the chief editor of its well-known journal. It was there also, that he published his great works—the *Asia Polyglotta* and the 'New Mithridates.' He died in 1835. Klaproth's attainments as a linguist, however, appear to have lain chiefly in the single family of languages which he made the study of his life: nor can he be enumerated among those who have distinguished themselves as speakers of foreign languages.

There is another distinguished scholar of modern Germany whom we cannot pass over in this enumeration, especially as his name is almost unknown to our English philologers, Christian William Buttner. He was born at Wolfenbüttel in 1716, and was destined by his father (an apothecary) for the medical profession; but although, like both those of whom we have been speaking, he gave his attention in the first instance to the sciences preparatory to that profession, the passion of his life became philology, and especially in its relation to the great science of ethnography. It was a saying of Cuvier's that Linnæus and Buttner realised by their united studies the title of Grotius's celebrated work 'De Jure *Naturæ* et *Gentium*;' Linnæus by his pursuit of *Natural* History assuming the first, and Buttner, by his *ethnological* studies, appropriating the second, as the respective spheres of their operations. In every country which Buttner visited, he acquired not only the general language, but the most minute peculiarities of its provincial dialects. Few literary lives are recorded in history which present such a picture of self-denial and of privation voluntarily endured in the cause of learning, as that of Buttner. His library and museum, accumulated from the hoardings of his paltry income, were exceedingly extensive and most valuable. In order to scrape together the means for their gradual purchase, he contented himself during the greater part of his later life with a single meal per day, the cost of which never exceeded a silber-groschen, or somewhat less than three halfpence! It may be inferred, however, from what has been said, that Buttner's attainments were mainly those of a book-man. In the scanty notices of him which

we have gleaned, we do not find that his power of speaking foreign languages was at all what might have been expected from the extent and variety of his book knowledge. But his services as a scientific philologer were infinitely more important as well as more permanent than any such ephemeral faculty. He was the first to observe and to cultivate the true relations of the monosyllabic languages of southern Asia, and to place them at the head of his scheme of the Asiatic and European languages. He was the first to conceive, or at least to carry out, the theory of the geographical distribution of languages; and he may be looked on as the true founder of the science of glossography. He was the first to sytematise and to trace the origin and affiliations of the various alphabetical characters; and his researches in the history of the palæography of the Semitic family may be said to have exhausted the subject. Nevertheless, he has himself written very little; but he communicated freely to others the fruits of his researches; and there are few of the philologers of his time who have not confessed their obligations to him. Michaelis, Schlötzer, Gatterer, and almost every other German scholar of note, have freely acknowledged both the value of his communications and the generous and liberal spirit in which they were imparted.

The catalogue of linguists eminent for the faculty of *speaking* a number of languages, though much more curious, is, nevertheless, also far inferior in number. The earliest example of this accomplishment after the revival of letters, is that of the celebrated Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, son of the Duke John Francis of that name. He was born in 1463, and from his childhood was regarded as one of the wonders of his age. Before he had completed his tenth year, he delivered lectures in civil and canon law, and was reputed a prodigy of eloquence. At the age of eighteen he had the reputation of knowing no less than twenty-two languages, a considerable number of which he spoke with fluency. And while he thus successfully cultivated the department of languages, he was, at the same time, an extraordinary proficient in all the other knowledge of his age. Making every allowance for the pedantry of his celebrated thesis at Rome in 1486, the nine hundred propositions of which it consisted comprised every department of knowledge cultivated at that period; nor can there be much doubt that, if his career had been prolonged to the usual term of human life, his reputation might have equalled that of almost any of the scholars, whether of the ancient or the modern world. He was cut off, however, at the early age of thirty-one. It is not unnatural to suppose that the rank of Pico, as well as the singular precocity of his talents, may

have led to a false and exaggerated estimate of his acquirements. But even allowing all reasonable abatement on this score, he must be regarded as well worthy a high rank in the list of those who have made themselves a name by their linguistic attainments.

The celebrated Rabbinical scholar, William Postel, although less brilliant than Pico, appears to have been but little inferior to him in the extent and variety of his acquirements as a linguist. He was born at Doleric in 1510, and was one of the many scholars attracted to the French Court by the munificent patronage of Francis I. He was sent to the East by that monarch on a literary mission similar to that undertaken recently under the auspices of Louis Philippe and M. de Villemain, his Minister of Public Instruction, to collect and bring home Greek and Oriental MSS. On his return he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and also of Oriental Languages in the College de France; but the wild and visionary character of his mind appears to have been quite unsuited to any settled pursuit. He offered himself soon afterwards to the newly founded society of the Jesuits, from whom, however, he soon separated. After many wanderings in France, Italy, and Germany, he undertook a second expedition to the East, whence he returned wilder and more visionary than ever; and although his enthusiasm and eloquence attracted many followers, his subsequent career was but a succession of difficulties and embroilments, until eventually he was placed under surveillance in the Monastery of St. Martin des Champs, close to Paris, where he died in 1581. Postel's attainments in languages, living and dead, are well known to have been very extraordinary; but it is difficult to form an exact estimate of his powers as a speaker. He is said to have been able to converse in most of the living languages, and he himself used to boast that he could go round the entire world without ever requiring the aid of an interpreter.

A celebrity as a linguist equally distinguished, and even more unamiable, than Postel's, is that of his countryman and contemporary, the younger of the two Scaligers. The personal history of Joseph Justus Scaliger is too well known to be repeated at much length here. He was born at Agen in 1544, and made his school studies at Bordeaux, where he was only remarkable for his exceeding dulness, having spent three years in a painfully laborious attempt to master the first rudiments of the Latin language. These clouds of the morning, however, were but the prelude of a brilliant day. His after successes were proportionately rapid and complete. The stories which are told of him seem almost legendary. He is said to have read the entire

Iliad and Odyssey in twenty-one days, and to have run through the Greek Dramatists and Lyric Poets in four months. He was but seventeen years old when he produced his Œdipus. At the same age he was able to speak Hebrew with all the fluency of a Rabbi. His application to study was unremitting, and his powers of endurance are described as beyond all example. He himself tells, that even in the darkness of the night, when he woke from his brief slumbers, he was able (so powerful was his vision) to read without lighting his lamp!* After a brilliant career at Paris, he was invited to occupy the chair of Belles Lettres at Leyden, where the best part of his life was spent. Like most eminent linguists, Scaliger possessed the faculty of memory in an extraordinary degree. He could repeat eighty couplets of poetry after a single reading: he knew by heart every line of his own composition, and it was said of him that he never forgot anything which he once knew. But with all his gifts and all his accomplishments, he contrived to render himself an object of general dislike, or at least of general disesteem. His vanity was insufferable; and it was of that peculiarly offensive kind which is only gratified at the expense of the depreciation of others. His life was a series of literary quarrels; and in the whole annals of literary polemics, there are none with which, for acrimony, virulence, and ferocity of vituperation, they may not compete. And hence, although there is hardly a subject, literary, antiquarian, philological, or critical, on which he has not written, and (for his age) written well, there are few, nevertheless, who have exercised less influence upon contemporary opinions. Scaliger spoke thirteen languages, which are enumerated in the following lines of Du Bartas. The classification is ludicrously unscientific.

——'Scaliger, merveille de nôtre age,
Soleil des savants, qui parle elegamment
Hebreu, Grecois, Romain, Espagnol, Allemand,
François, Italien, Nubien, Arabique,
Syriaque, Persian, Anglois, Chaldaique.'

In his case it is difficult, as in most others, to ascertain the degree of his familiarity with each of these. To Du Bartas's poetical epithet *elegamment*, of course no importance is to be attached; and it would perhaps be equally unsafe to rely on the depreciatory representations of his literary antagonists. One

* Strange and apocryphal as this anecdote may seem, it is told seriously by Scaliger himself, who adds that the same extraordinary power was possessed also by Jerome Cardan and by his father. See the curious article in *Moreri, voce* 'Scaliger.'

thing, at least, is certain, that he himself made the most of the accomplishment. He was not the man to hide his light from any overweening delicacy. The malicious wits of his own day used to say, that there could be no doubt as to his powers in one particular department of each language—its Billingsgate vocabulary. There was not one, they said, of the thirteen languages to which he laid claim, *in which he was not perfectly qualified to scold*, whatever his acquaintance with it in other respects might be.

With these men, however, the study of languages formed almost the business of life; but it was not so with their brilliant contemporary, the 'Admirable Crichton,' who, notwithstanding the universality of his reputation, became equally eminent in this particular branch. There is not an accomplishment which he did not possess in its greatest perfection —from the most abstruse departments of scholarship, philosophy, and divinity, down to the mere physical gifts and graces of the musician, the athlete, the swordsman, and the cavalier. Many of the details which are told of him are doubtless exaggerated, and perhaps legendary; but Tytler has shown that the substance of his history, prodigious as it seems, is perfectly reliable. As regards the particular subject of our present inquiry, one account states that, when he was but sixteen years old, he spoke ten languages. Another informs us that, at the age of twenty, the number of languages of which he was master exactly equalled the number of his years. But the most tangible data which we possess are drawn from his celebrated thesis in the University of Paris, in which he undertook to dispute in any of twelve languages—Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, German, Flemish and Slavonic. We are inclined to believe that Crichton's acquirements extended at least so far as this. It might seem that a vague challenge to dispute in any one out of such a number of foreign tongues was an empty and unsubstantial boast, and a mere exhibition of vanity, perfectly safe from the danger of exposure. But it is clear that Crichton's challenge was not so unpractical as this. He not only specified the languages of his challenge, but there is not one of those that he selected which was not represented in the University of Paris at the time, not only sufficiently to test the proficiency of the daring disputant, but to secure his ignominious exposure, if there were grounds to suspect him of charlatanism or imposture.

One of the scholars engaged in the compilation of Walton's Polyglot, Andrew Müller, has left a reputation less marvellous,

but possibly more solid. He was born at Greiffenhagen in Pomerania, but settled in England, where he had a large share in the great work just named. He was perhaps the first European scholar, who, without actually visiting China, acquired a mastery of its language; and he is certainly one of the first who deserted the track of the old philologers, and attempted the comparative study of languages on principles approaching to those which modern science has made familiar. But, although a most laborious man and a voluminous writer, Müller's views were visionary and unpractical. He professed to have devised a plan of teaching, so complete, that by adopting it a perfect knowledge of Chinese could be acquired in half a year, and so simple, that it could be applied to the instruction of persons of the most ordinary capacity. We have never seen any detailed account of the number of languages to which he actually laid claim, but Haller states that he spoke no less than twenty.

It is scarcely allowable to introduce in such companionship the more humble pretensions of a scholar already named as the compiler of one of the collections of the Lord's Prayer, John Chamberlayne, who is said to have been acquainted with, and perhaps to have spoken, ten languages. The celebrated Roman Catholic controversialist, Eusebius Renaudot *, approaches nearer to competition. He possessed a thorough knowledge of seventeen languages, in the greater number of which he was able to converse with fluency. We may also add to our list the Spanish ex-Jesuit, Padre Hervaz, already referred to; especially as he occupied during the last years of his life an office which Mezzofanti has since made remarkable — that of Librarian of the Vatican collection. His voluminous publications evince not only a *literal* acquaintance with a prodigious number of languages, but a critical knowledge of their structures and their affinities. But in the absence of any detailed memoir, we are unable to ascertain how far this familiarity extended to the spoken languages themselves.

It would be easy to extend this list much farther were we to include in it the minor celebrities of the department. But examples of more than average attainments have become so numerous in our own generation, that it would be wearisome to descend lower in the scale. We must therefore pass by many whose pretensions stood sufficiently high in their day; — even

* He is the author of the fourth and fifth volumes of the celebrated work, *Perpetuité de la Foi sur l'Eucharistie.* The first three volumes are by the well-known Jansenist leaders, Anthony Arnauld and Nicole.

royal linguists like Charles V., Catherine of Russia, and, above all, that strange combination of eccentricity and genius, Christina of Sweden, who was mistress of no less than eight languages. There are others, too, whose fame, as resting upon apocryphal or insufficient testimony, does not bear the ordeal of criticism. When the pretension to familiarity with languages reaches a certain point, it is in most cases easily maintained, and even extended, by the difficulty of applying any satisfactory test. An amusing example is mentioned in the second volume of Baron von Zach's 'Correspondance Astronomique' of a certain Père Weitenauer, who, in the 'literary circles' of the Tyrolese capital, Innspruck, had the reputation of speaking 'from eighteen to two dozen different languages,' and who claimed to have invented a plan according to which languages could be acquired with perfect facility 'at the rate of from twenty-four hours to a month each.' 'I was 'complaisant enough,' says the traveller, whose report is cited in the 'Correspondance,' 'to believe this, as I had believed what the 'old historians tell of Mithridates speaking the languages of the 'twenty-two nations who were subject to his sway. Accordingly 'I went to see this rival of the king of Pontus; and, by way of 'trial, I addressed him in German. He answered me in a 'Tyrolese patois, so discordant and unintelligible, that I con-'cluded that German was not one of the tongues to which this 'rare genius laid claim. I tried him, therefore, in French and 'Italian; but I think *it must have been in Hebrew that he replied*, 'for I could not understand a single word of his answer.'* We have found more than one Père Weitenauer among the names which figure as celebrities in the popularly received catalogues of eminent linguists.

It is with the most unexceptionable of these, however—those whose fame rest upon the most unsuspected testimony—that we have to contrast the subject of our present notice. And whatever absolute judgment we may form of the actual extent of his own attainments, it is impossible to hesitate as to the relative estimate at which we must arrive. In the variety, in the extent, in the exactness, in the readiness, and in the completeness of his knowledge of languages, Mezzofanti immeasurably transcends them all.

Giuseppe Gaspardo Mezzofanti was the son of an humble carpenter, and was born at Bologna, September 17. 1774. He was sent to one of the charity schools of his native city, and was destined by his father to follow his own trade, at which it is said that he actually worked in his early boyhood. According to one

* Correspondance Astronomique, tome ii. p. 514.

account, which, although not contained in any of the published memoirs, is derived from a distinguished Anglican dignitary, once a pupil of Mezzofanti, it was while he was thus employed that he attracted the notice of the good old Oratorian, Father Respighi, to whom he was indebted for his release from the uncongenial lot for which his father had designed him. The place where his work-bench was fixed was, as is usual in Italy, in the open air, and under the window of this old clergyman, who privately instructed a number of pupils in Greek and Latin. Young Mezzofanti, overhearing the lessons, caught up the instruction with that marvellous facility which distinguished his after life: and one day surprised his unconscious teacher with the discovery that, without even having seen a Greek book, and without knowing a single letter of the alphabet, he had acquired an extensive and very accurate knowledge of the great body of the words contained in the books which he had heard explained in these stolen lectures! Respighi, who was a most kind-hearted and enlightened man, at once resolved to save for literature a youth of such promise; himself undertook the task of instructing him in Greek and Latin; and on his declaring his preference for the ecclesiastical profession, placed him at the episcopal seminary of Bologna. The meagre notices of his early career which have been preserved, contain hardly anything of interest for our present purpose. He learned in college Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. His first lessons in German were derived from a Bolognese ecclesiastic, the abbate Thiuli. He picked up French from an old priest of Blois; Swedish, from a Swedish physician who had settled at Bologna; and Coptic from a learned clergyman, the Canonico Mingarelli. And it is plain from what is told of him that then, as later, the faculty of memory was that through which he mainly worked in the acquirement of his linguistic stores. One of his recorded schoolboy feats was to repeat, after a single reading, a folio page of St. John Chrysostome, which he had never before seen; and other exercises of memory equally ready and equally remarkable are mentioned among the recollections of his youth.

He was admitted to priest's orders in 1797, and in the end of that year was appointed professor of Arabic in the University. In the following year, however, he was deprived, on his refusing to take the oaths required by the new Cisalpine Republic; and, until the year 1804, when he was again restored, he eked out a scanty income by private tuition, especially in the Marescalchi family, where he had the advantage of an extensive and curious library, particularly rich in the department of languages. His fidelity to the papal cause, in the contests between Pius VII.

and Napoleon, led to his being, a second time, deprived of his professorship, in 1808, though he was invited by the Emperor to Paris, with most brilliant prospects; but in 1812 he obtained the place of assistant librarian; and on the return of Pius VII. from his exile, in 1814, his fidelity, as well as his other distinguished merits, received a more fitting reward, in the appointment of principal librarian and regent of studies in the university.

To the duties of these offices he devoted himself assiduously, and he refused every solicitation by which it was sought to withdraw him from his native city. Murat endeavoured to lure him to Naples; the Grand Duke of Tuscany invited him to Florence; the Emperor Francis held out tempting offers in Vienna; Pius VII. employed every instance to obtain his services at Rome. But he was proof against them all, and continued, with the exception of a few brief excursions to Modena, to Mantua, to Leghorn, Pisa, and Rome, to reside in Bologna, until the accession of Gregory XVI. in 1831.

It was during these years that he acquired the largest proportion of his knowledge of languages. Very few particulars, however, of the marvellous history are preserved, beyond the names of a few individuals, (none of them possessing any particular interest,) from whom he is said to have received information or instruction in some of the many languages which he contrived to master. His position was not so unfavourable for these studies as might at first sight be supposed. In those days Bologna was the high road to Rome, and few visitors to that capital failed to tarry for a short time at Bologna, to examine the many objects of interest which it contains. To all of these Mezzofanti found a ready and welcome access. There were few with whom his fertile vocabulary did not supply some medium of communication; but, even when the stranger could not speak any except the unknown tongue, Mezzofanti's ready ingenuity soon enabled him to establish a system for the interchange of thought. A very small number of leading words sufficed as a foundation; and the almost instinctive facility with which, by a single effort, he grasped all the principal peculiarities of the structure of each new language, speedily enabled him to acquire enough of the essential inflections of each to enter on the preliminaries of conversation. For his marvellous instinct of acquisitiveness this was enough. The iron tenacity of his memory never let go a word, a phrase, an idiom, or even a sound, which it once had mastered.

The circumstance, however, which more, than any other, tended to procure for him opportunity of extending his know-

ledge of languages, was the frequent passing and repassing of troops through the north of Italy, during those years of war and revolution. French and Austrian armies alternately occupied the Legations. Russian troops, too, not unfrequently, were to be seen in Bologna. And it need scarcely be said that the armies of Austria and Russia comprise in their motley ranks a larger proportion of languages than those of all the rest of Europe beside. Thus the military hospitals of Bologna, which were seldom untenanted during the last years of the eighteenth and the beginning of the present century, furnished an admirable field for the polyglot studies which had become the passion of Mezzofanti's life. He was at all times most assiduous in his attendance upon the sick; and his priestly ministrations, both within and without the hospitals, afforded him ample opportunities of increasing his store. He was soon marked out as the 'foreigners' confessor' (*confessario dei forestieri*) of Bologna; an office, which, in Rome and other Roman Catholic cities, is generally entrusted to a staff consisting of many individuals. Almost every foreigner was sure to find a ready resource in Mezzofanti; though it more than once happened that, as a preliminary step towards receiving the confession of the party applying for this office of his ministry, he had to place himself as a pupil in the hands of the intending penitent, and to acquire from him or her the rudiments of the language in which they were to communicate with each other. The process to him was simple enough. If the stranger was able to repeat for him the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, or any one of those familiar prayers which are the common property of all Christian countries, or even to supply the names of a few of the leading ideas of Christian theology, as God, sin, virtue, earth, heaven, hell, &c.; it was sufficient for Mezzofanti. In many cases he proceeded to build upon a foundation not a whit more substantial. The services which he thus rendered to the foreign soldiery in the hospitals, earned for him the grateful notice of their officers; and it is said that a lasting friendship with the Russian General Suwarrow * originated in this way, during one of that rude soldier's campaigns in Italy.

His own account of the process by which these various stores were successively gathered, and which is given by the author of a French Memoir named at the head of these pages, is very simple and interesting. Mezzofanti, though most liberal

* This 'singular barbarian,' to adopt Lord Holland's epithet, was himself no mean linguist: he wrote and spoke, with fluency and exactness, no less than six languages.

and tolerant to all others, was zealously devoted to the duties of his own profession. 'I was living in Bologna,' he said, 'during the war. At that time I was young in the ministry, 'and used to visit the military hospitals. I met there among 'the patients, Hungarians, Slaves, Germans, Bohemians, '&c., whom, although dangerously ill or wounded, I was un-'able to confess or to reconcile with the Church. My heart 'was grieved at the sight. I gave myself up to the study of 'these languages, and easily acquired enough to make myself 'intelligible. I needed no more. I began to make my rounds 'among the sick beds. Some I managed to confess; I talked 'with others; so that in a short time I had considerably 'enlarged my vocabulary. With the blessing of God, assisted 'by my own memory and industry, I came to know not only 'the language of the countries to which these invalids belonged, 'but even the dialects of the different provinces.'

'The hotel-keepers, too,' he added, 'were in the habit of 'apprising me of the arrival of all strangers at Bologna. I 'made no difficulty, when anything was to be learned, about 'calling on them, interrogating them, making notes of their 'communications, and taking instructions from them in the 'pronunciation of their respective languages. A few learned 'Jesuits, and several Spaniards, Portuguese, and Mexicans, 'who resided at Bologna, afforded me valuable aid in learning 'both the ancient languages, and those of their own countries. 'I made it a rule to learn every new grammar, and to apply 'myself to every strange dictionary that came within my reach. 'I was constantly filling my head with new words; and, when-'ever any new strangers, whether of high or low degree, passed 'through Bologna, I endeavoured to turn them to account, 'using the one for the purpose of perfecting my pronunciation, 'and the other for that of learning the familiar words and turns 'of expression. I must confess, too, that it cost me but little 'trouble; for, in addition to an excellent memory, God had 'blessed me with an incredible flexibility of the organs of 'speech.'*

By degrees, as his fame extended, travellers from the most distant countries, and speaking the most out of-the-way tongues, began to visit Bologna, with the express purpose of seeing Mezzofanti. The troubles in Greece and among the Christian populations subject to the Porte, during and before the outbreak of the War of Independence, brought many refugee ecclesiastics to Italy. The various revolutions of Spain led to more than

* Esquisse Histor. sur le Card. Mezzofanti. Par A. Manavit, p. 104–5.

one Catalonian and Valencian priest taking up his residence in Bologna. All these and many more were placed under contribution. And it is about this period of Mezzofanti's career, that the interesting series of notices compiled by Mr. Watts *, may be said to commence. It would be impossible, by any observations of our own, to place him before our readers in a more curious light, than we shall do by recording the impressions received of him by those who have been, at various times, witnesses of the exercise of his extraordinary faculty. Before, therefore, we follow him to Rome, where, as we shall see, the last years of his life were spent, we shall insert the most remarkable notices which Mr. Watts has collected, of the impressions of visitors to Mezzofanti, during his residence in Bologna. Mr. Watts, himself a linguist of the very highest attainments, has collected these notices from many works, — English, French, German, Danish, Russian, and Hungarian, sealed books to the generality of readers; and as his essay, being printed only in the 'Proceedings of the Philological Society,' is rare and difficult of access, we shall transcribe the most interesting portions of them, adding to the series a few additional notices derived from other sources.

The earliest account of Mezzofanti which Mr. Watts has found, reaches no further back than November, 1817. It was published in 1819, in Mr. Stewart Rose's 'Letters from the 'North of Italy.'*

'As this country,' he writes, 'has been fertile in every variety of genius, from that which handles the pencil to that which sweeps the skies with the telescope; so even in this, her least favourite beat, she has produced men who, in early life, have embraced such a circle of languages, as one should hardly imagine their ages would have enabled them to attain. Thus the wonders which are related of one of these, Pico di Mirandola, I always considered fabulous, till I was myself the witness of acquisitions which can scarcely be considered less extraordinary.

'The living lion to whom I allude is Signor Mezzofanti of Bologna, who, when I saw him, though he was only thirty-six years old, read twenty and wrote eighteen languages. This is the least marvellous part of the story. He spoke all these fluently, and those of which I could judge with the most extraordinary precision. I had the pleasure of dining with him formerly in the house of a Bolognese lady, at whose table a German officer declared he could not have distinguished him from a German. He passed the whole of the next day with G—— and myself, and G—— told me he should have taken him for an Englishman, who had been some time out of England. A Smyrniote servant

* On the Extraordinary Powers of Cardinal Mezzofanti as a Linguist, by Thomas Watts, Esq., vol. v. p. 111.

who was with me, bore equal testimony to his skill in other languages, and declared he might pass for a Greek or a Turk in the dominions of the Grand Seignior. But what most surprised me was his accuracy; for, during long and repeated conversations in English, he never once misapplied the *sign* of a tense, that fearful stumbling-block to Scotch and Irish, in whose writings there is always to be found some abuse of these undefinable niceties. The marvel was, if possible, rendered more marvellous by this gentleman's accomplishments and information, things rare in linguists, who generally mistake the means for the end. It ought also to be stated that his various acquisitions had all been made in Bologna, from which, when I saw him, he had never wandered above thirty miles.' (*Letters from the North of Italy*, ii. 54.)

It can hardly be necessary to record the testimony of Lord Byron, which has become almost a proverb. There is no certainty as to the date at which this visit, so characteristically described, took place, as it is merely alluded to casually in a letter written to a friend, as one of the memorable events of the writer's life. But we are inclined to think that it must have been early in the noble poet's residence in Italy, and before he had attained much familiarity with Italian. The spelling [Mezzo*ph*anti] of Mezzofanti's name, is a solecism against one of the fundamental laws of Italian orthography, into which we could hardly suppose any one long resident in Italy to have fallen. Probably Byron's visit was not far removed from that of Stewart Rose.

'I don't remember a man amongst them,' he says, of foreign literary men generally, 'whom I ever wished to see twice, 'except perhaps Mezzophanti, who is a monster of languages, the 'Briareus of parts of speech, a walking polyglot, and more, 'who ought to have existed at the time of the tower of Babel, 'as universal interpreter. He is, indeed, a marvel, unassuming 'also. I tried him in all the tongues in which I knew a single 'oath or adjuration to the gods, against post-boys, savages, 'Tartars, boatmen, sailors, pilates, gondoliers, muleteers, camel-'drivers, vetturini, post-masters, post-houses, post, everything; 'and egad! he astounded me—even to my English!'

A year or two later we have an account from what might naturally be presumed to be the severer pen of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer, Baron Von Zach, who saw Mezzofanti during a visit which he made to Bologna, for the purpose of observing the annular eclipse of the sun. In the issue of his scientific Journal 'Correspondance Astronomique' for February, 1820, he writes:—

'The annular eclipse of the sun was one great curiosity for 'us, and Signor Mezzofanti was another. This extraordinary

'man is really a rival of Mithridates; he speaks thirty-two 'languages, living and dead, in the manner I am going to 'describe. He accosted me in Hungarian, and with a compli- 'ment so well turned, and in such excellent Magyar, that I 'was quite taken by surprise and stupefied. He afterwards 'spoke to me in German, at first in good Saxon (the *Crusca* of 'the Germans), and then in the Austrian and Swabian dialects, 'with a correctness of accent that amazed me to the last degree, 'and made me burst into a fit of laughter at the thought of the 'contrast between the language and the appearance of this 'astonishing professor. He spoke English to Captain Smyth, 'Russian and Polish to Prince Volkonski, not stuttering and 'stammering, but with the same volubility as if he had been 'speaking his mother tongue, the dialect of Bologna. I was 'quite unable to tear myself away from him. At a dinner at 'the cardinal legate's, Della Spina, his eminence placed me at 'table next him; after having chatted with him in several 'languages, all of which he spoke much better than I did, it 'came into my head to address to him on a sudden some words 'of Wallachian. Without hesitation, and without appearing to 'remark what an out-of-the-way dialect I had branched off to, 'off went my polyglot in the same language, and so fast, that 'I was obliged to say to him; "Gently, gently, Mr. Abbé; I '"really can't follow you; I am at the end of my Latin- '"Wallachian." It was more than forty years since I had 'spoken the language, or even thought of it, though I knew it 'very well in my youth, when I served in an Hungarian 'regiment, and was in garrison in Transylvania. The professor 'was not only more ready in the language than I, but he 'informed me on this occasion, that he knew another tongue 'that I had never been able to get hold of, though I had 'enjoyed better opportunities of doing so than he, as I formerly 'had men that spoke it in my regiment.

'This was the language of the Zigans, or Gipsies, whom the 'French so improperly call Bohemians, at which the good and 'genuine Bohemians, that is to say, the inhabitants of the 'kingdom of Bohemia, are not a little indignant. But how 'could an Italian abbé, who had never been out of his native 'town, find means to learn a language that is neither written nor 'printed? In the Italian wars an Hungarian regiment was in 'garrison at Bologna: the language-loving professor discovered 'a gipsy in it, and made him his teacher, and, with the facility 'and happy memory that nature has gifted him with, he was 'soon master of the language, which, it is believed, is nothing 'but a dialect, and a corrupted one into the bargain, of some

'tribes of Parias in Hindostan.' (*Zach; Correspondance Astronomique*, vol. iv. pp. 191-2.)

These marvellous details were received with considerable incredulity by some, and were explained away by others as the embellishments of a traveller's tale. Accordingly, the Baron, in a subsequent number of his journal, reiterates the statement, and enters into fuller explanations regarding it. Alluding to the similar doubts which are expressed by some critics as to the truth of the almost equally marvellous statements made by Valerius Maximus, that 'Cyrus knew by name every soldier 'in his army;' and that 'Mithridates was master of the 'languages of the twenty-two nations which were subject to 'him,' the Baron proceeds:—

'It may be so; we know nothing about it, and in consequence, 'we will not contradict these critics; but what we know is, that 'Signor Mezzofanti speaks very good German, Hungarian, 'Slavonic, Wallachian, Russian, Polish, French, and English. 'I have mentioned my authorities. It has been said that Prince 'Volkonski and Captain Smyth gave their testimony in favour 'of this wonderful professor, out of politeness only. But I 'asked the prince alone, how the professor spoke Russian, and 'he told me he should be very glad if his own son spoke it as 'well. The child spoke English and French better than Russian, 'having always been in foreign countries with his father. The 'captain said, "the professor speaks English better than I do, '"we sailors knock the language to pieces on board our vessels, '"where we have Scotch and Irish, and foreigners of all sorts; '"there is often an odd sort of jargon spoken in a ship; the '"professor speaks with correctness, and even with elegance; '"it is easy to see that he has studied the language."'

'M. Mezzofanti came one day to see me at the hotel where 'I was staying: I happened not to be in my own rooms, but on a 'visit to another traveller who lodged in the same hotel, Baron 'Ulmenstein, a colonel in the King of Hanover's service, who 'was travelling with his lady. M. Mezzofanti was brought to 'me; and, as I was the only person who knew him, I introduced him to the company as a professor and librarian of the 'university. He took part in the conversation, which was 'carried on in German; and, after this had gone on for a considerable time, the baroness took an opportunity of asking me 'aside, how it came to pass that a German was a professor and 'librarian in an Italian university. I replied, that M. Mezzofanti 'was no German, that he was a very good Italian of that city of 'Bologna, and had never been out of it. Judge of the astonishment of all the company, and of the explanations that followed!'

'My readers, I am sure, will not think the testimony of 'Baroness Ulmenstein to be suspected. The baroness is a 'thorough German, of a cultivated mind, and herself speaks 'four languages in great perfection?'

Next in order comes the account of Lady Morgan, who goes into some details of Mezzofanti's previous history. Her ladyship appears to have met him in the year 1820. It will be seen that she is somewhat less unreserved in her estimate of the extent of his attainments. There is one allegation of hers, however, which we ourselves know to be incorrect; viz. that Mezzofanti did not pursue the study of any languages, except 'those that had books worth reading.' He spoke fluently, as we shall see, the native language of California, and of more than one Mexican and South-American dialect.

'The well-known Abate Mezzofanti, librarian to the Institute, 'was of our party. Conversing with this very learned person 'on the subject of his "forty languages," he smiled at the ex-'aggeration, and said, that although he had gone over the outline 'of forty languages, he was not master of them, as he had 'dropped such as had not books worth reading. His Greek 'master, being a Spaniard, taught him Spanish. The German, 'Polish, Bohemian, and Hungarian tongues he originally 'acquired during the occupation of Bologna by the Austrian 'power; and afterwards he had learned French from the French, 'and English by reading, and by conversing with English 'travellers. With all this superfluity of languages, he spoke 'nothing but Bolognese in his own family. With us, he always 'spoke English, and with scarcely any accent, though I believe 'he has never been out of Bologna. His tone of phrase and 'peculiar selection of words were those of the "Spectator;" 'and it is probable that he was most conversant with the En-'glish works of that day. The Abate Mezzofanti was professor 'of the Greek and Oriental languages under the French: when 'Buonaparte abolished the Greek professorship, Mezzofanti was pensioned off. He was again made Greek professor by the 'Austrians, again set aside by the French, and again restored by 'the Pope.' (*Italy*, vol. i. p. 290.)

Notwithstanding these reiterated statements, the incredulity still continued. Blume, author of the 'Iter Italicum,' who visited Bologna in 1821, introduces into his notice of Mezzofanti some strictures upon Baron Zach's encomiastic description. These strictures, however, regard rather the philological than the linguistic attainments of Mezzofanti; and we must say that the example of incompetency in this particular study, which he alleges, is far from being in our eyes a very decisive one. As

to Mezzofanti's reported uncourteousness, Blume stands entirely alone. Every other writer who had met Mezzofanti, is most explicit and most grateful in acknowledging his uniform courtesy, and his friendly and obliging disposition.

'Bianconi and Mezzofanti are the librarians. The latter, as is 'well known, is considered throughout all Europe as a linguistic 'prodigy, a second Mithridates; and is said to speak and write 'with fluency two-and-thirty dead and living languages. Will-'ingly as I join in this admiration, especially as his countrymen 'usually display little talent for the acquisition of foreign tongues, 'I cannot but remark that the account recently given in the 'fourth and fifth volumes of Von Zach's "Correspondance As-'tronomique," is very much exaggerated. Readiness in speaking 'a language should not be confounded with philological know-'ledge. I have heard few Italians speak German as well as 'Mezzofanti, but I have also heard him maintain that between 'Platt-Deutsch, or the low German, and the Dutch language, 'there was no difference whatever. He does not appear either 'to be always quite polite to strangers who visit the library, not 'merely to converse with him, but to make use of the manu-'scripts.' (*Blume's Iter Italicum*, vol. ii. p. 152.)

The year 1820 is very fertile in such notices. We have another from a Danish writer, M. Molbech, one of the librarians of Copenhagen; M. Molbech's testimony to Mezzofanti's general attainments is equally honourable with that which he bears to his mastery of languages.

'At last, in the afternoon, I succeeded in meeting one of the 'living wonders of Italy, the librarian Mezzofanti, whom I had 'only spoken with for a few moments in the gallery, when I 'passed through Bologna before: I now spent a couple of hours 'with him, at his lodgings in the university building, and at the 'library, and would willingly, for his sake alone, have prolonged 'my stay at Bologna for a couple of days, if I had not been 'bound by contract with the vetturino as far as Venice. His 'celebrity must be an inconvenience to him; for scarcely any 'educated traveller leaves Bologna without having paid him a 'visit, and the hired guides never omit to mention his name 'among the first curiosities of the town. This learned Italian, 'who has never been so far from his birthplace, Bologna, as to 'Florence or Rome, is certainly one of the world's greatest 'geniuses in point of languages. I do not know the number 'he understands, but there is scarcely any European dialect, 'whether Romanic, Scandinavian, or Sclavonic, that this mi-'raculous polyglottist does not speak. It is said the total 'amounts to more than thirty languages; and among them is

'that of the gipsies, which he learned to speak from a gipsy 'who was quartered with an Hungarian regiment at Bologna.

'I found a German with him, with whom he was conversing 'in fluent and well sounding German; when we were alone and 'I began to speak to him in the same language, he interrupted 'me with a question in Danish, "Hvorledes har det behaget 'dem i Italien?" ("How have you been pleased with Italy?") 'After this, he pursued the conversation in Danish, by his own 'desire, almost all the time I continued with him, as this, 'according to his own polite expression, was a pleasure he did 'not often enjoy; and he spoke the language, from want of exer- 'cise, certainly not with the same fluency and ease as English or 'German, but with almost entire correctness. Imagine my de- 'light at such a conversation. Of Danish books, however, I 'found in his rich and excellent philological collection no more 'than Baden's Grammar, and Hallage's Norwegian Vocabulary, 'and in the library Haldorson's Icelandic Dictionary, in which 'he made me read him a couple of pages of the preface as a 'lesson in pronunciation. Our conversation turned mostly on 'Northern and German literature. The last he is pretty minutely 'acquainted with, and he is very fond of German poetry, which he 'has succeeded in bringing into fashion with the ladies of Bologna, 'so that Schiller and Goethe, whom the Romans hardly knew 'by name, are here read in the original, and their works are to 'be had in the library. This collection occupies a finely-built 'saloon, in which it is arranged in dark presses with wire 'gratings, and is said to contain about 120,000 volumes. Besides 'Mezzofanti, there is an under librarian, two assistants, and 'three other servants. Books are bought to the amount of 'about 1000 scudi, or more than 200*l.* sterling, a year. Mez- 'zofanti is not merely a linguist, but is well acquainted with 'literary history and bibliography, and also with the library under 'his charge. As an author he is not known, so far as I am 'aware; and he seems at present to be no older than about 'forty. I must add, what perhaps would be least expected from 'a learned man who has been unceasingly occupied with lin- 'guistic studies, and has hardly been out of his native town, that 'he has the finest and most polished manners, and, at the same 'time, the most engaging good-nature.'*

After this date there is a long blank in Mr. Watts' series of notices. The next account which he has been able to discover is

* Molbech's Reise giennem en Deel af Tydskland, Frankrige, England og Italien, i Aarene 1819 og 1829, vol. iii. p. 319, and following.

dated several years after Mezzofanti's removal from Bologna. We are induced to add from our own store one or two further sketches of Mezzofanti, while still at Bologna. Although the brief account given by M. Valery in his 'Voyage Littéraire et 'Historique en Italie' contains nothing new, yet as Mr. Watts' list, diversified though it be, does not contain any French traveller, we may as well record his impressions. 'The librarian of 'the Bologna University,' he says, 'is the abbate Mezzofanti, 'who is celebrated throughout Europe for his knowledge of 'languages. He knows, including dialects, no less than thirty-'two; —ten more than Mithridates, to whom, however, he bears 'but slight resemblance in any other respect, being full of amia-'bleness and modesty. There is really something of the mira-'culous in a gift such as this; for Mezzofanti has never been 'outside of Bologna. He is a philologist; a profound scholar 'in oriental languages, even to their very patois; an apostle of 'tongues, as of piety.'

Much more interesting in itself as well as for its author, is the account given by the celebrated German philologer, Frederic Jacobs. It brings us down about five years farther than those which we have last been discussing, his visit to Mezzofanti having occurred in August 1825. Herr Jacobs* quotes and confirms the statements which we have already seen, from Baron von Zach's 'Correspondance,' and proceeds to say: 'I was 'most kindly received by him; we spoke in German for above 'an hour, so that I had full opportunity for observing the facility 'with which he spoke; his conversation was animated, his 'vocabulary select and appropriate, his pronunciation by no 'means foreign, and I could detect nothing but here and there a 'little of the North German accent. He was not unacquainted 'with German literature, spoke among other things of Voss's 'services in the theory of metre, and made some observations 'on the imitation of the metrical system of the ancients. His 'opinions were precise and expressed without dogmatism. This 'fault, so common among persons of talent, appears quite foreign 'to him, and there is not a trace of charlatanism about him.'

The testimony borne by Herr Jacobs to Mezzofanti's scholarship and philological attainments, even in a department but little cultivated, is of some importance. He proceeds to describe another peculiarity of his extraordinary faculty, equally deserving of notice. 'Not less remarkable are the ease and readiness with 'which he passes in conversation from one language to another, 'from the north to the south, from the east to the west and

* Fr. Jacobs, Vermischte Schriften, vol. vi. p. 517, and following.

'the dexterity with which he speaks several of the most difficult 'together without the least seeming effort; and whereas, in 'cognate languages, the slightest difference creates confusion, so 'that, for instance, the German in Holland or the Dutchman in 'Germany, often mixes the sister and mother tongues so as to 'become unintelligible, Mezzofanti ever draws the line most 'sharply, and his path in each realm of languages is uniformly 'firm and secure.' We may also add Jacobs' description of the personal appearance of the great linguist, especially as it will prove a sort of set-off against the much more depreciatory observations of a lady traveller whose impressions we shall have to record hereafter.

'Mezzofanti,' writes the German professor, 'is of the middle 'size or rather below it; he is thin and pale, and his whole appear- 'ance indicates delicacy. He appears to be between fifty and 'sixty years old [he was really, in 1825, fifty-one]: his move- 'ments are easy and unembarrassed, his whole bearing is that of a 'man who has mixed much in society. He is active and zealous 'in the discharge of his duties, and he never fails to celebrate 'mass every day.'

It is time, however, to follow Mezzofanti to Rome, which, of course, must be regarded as the chief theatre of his celebrity. While he was at Bologna, he had maintained an occasional correspondence on philological subjects with Father (afterwards Cardinal) Cappellari, and eventually Pope Gregory XVI. While Cappellari was Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, his esteem for his correspondent was increased by an act of disinterestedness on the part of Mezzofanti which came to his knowledge; namely, his declining the offer of (to him) a considerable sum of money voted and sent to him by the congregation, in acknowledgment of some literary services rendered by him to the Propaganda; and after Cappellari's elevation to the Pontificate, he set his heart upon drawing the 'Bolognese prodigy' to Rome. An occasion presented itself in the end of 1832. After the failure of the attempted revolution in the Papal States during that year, a deputation from the legation of Bologna was sent to Rome, of which Mezzofanti was a member; and the Pope urged this request so strongly upon him, that, after what his Holiness jokingly called 'a 'regular siege' (*veramente un assedio*), he consented to the change. Gregory XVI. used afterwards good-humouredly to say, 'that 'this was the only good that resulted from the revolution of 'Bologna.'

Upon his settling in Rome, Mezzofanti's humble interests and wants were generously cared for by his friend and patron. He was appointed to a prebend in St. John Lateran's, and afterwards

to a canonry in St. Peter's, together with the Rectorship of the college of the *Pietrini* attached to that church; and on the transfer of the celebrated Angelo (afterwards cardinal) Mai from the post of Vatican librarian to that of secretary of the Propaganda, Mezzofanti was installed in the charge of the Vatican library, which he held till 1840, when, in conjunction with Mai, he was elevated to the cardinalate. And even in this, the crowning step of his promotion, the same considerate generosity followed him. Presuming on the slenderness of his friend's resources, the Pope presented him, from the privy purse, with the state equipages and the other details of the outfit usually provided by a new cardinal at his installation.

Mezzofanti continued to enjoy the friendship of Gregory XVI. until his death, and was equally beloved by the present Pope, whom he had known before his promotion, and to whom he was tenderly attached. The remaining years of his life were full of honour and distinction, although his change of rank brought little alteration in the simple habits which he had contracted as an humble professor. It is impossible, indeed, to conceive a position more advantageous for his favourite pursuit than that which Mezzofanti now occupied. Where should we find a more 'diverse-speaking' crowd than that which annually flocks to the attractive spectacles of the Holy Week at Rome? and even independently of these, what we may call the standing population of Rome is perhaps the most polyglot in the world. Ecclesiastics from every part of the Christian world may be met almost daily in the anterooms of the Vatican, or the *segreteria* of the Propaganda. The convents and other religious houses of the city number among their members complexions of every hue and tongues of every variety of intonation; above all, the college of the Propaganda is in itself a little world, comprising every language and every dialect of the nations in communion with Rome. All these resources were open to Mezzofanti, and he availed himself zealously of them all.

Mr. Watts' first authority after Mezzofanti's arrival in Rome is a very dogmatical and supercilious German student, named Fleck, who, during his researches in the Vatican, had frequent opportunities of intercourse with him. Mr. Watts may well be amused at the 'magisterial superiority' with which Herr Fleck considers himself entitled to speak of Mezzofanti's gift.

'Since he has been prefect of the Vatican in Mai's stead,' says Fleck, 'I have had occasion to see him daily. His talent is that of a linguist, not that of a philologist. One forenoon in the Vatican, he spoke Modern Greek to a young man who came in, Hebrew with a rabbi or 'scrittore' of the library, Russian with a magnate who

passed through to the manuscript-rooms, Latin and German with me, Danish with a young Danish archæologist who was present, English with the English,—Italian with many. German he speaks well, but almost too softly, like a Hamburgher; Latin he does not speak particularly well*, and his English is just as middling. There is something about him that reminds me of a parrot—he does not seem to abound in ideas; but his talent is the more deserving of admiration, that the Italians have great difficulties to cope with in learning a foreign language. He will always remain a wonderful phenomenon, if not a miracle in the dogmatic sense. It is said to have been observed, that he often repeats the same ideas in conversation. He told me he had learned Russian at Bologna from a Pole, and so had been in danger of introducing Polonicisms into his Russian. In the French wars his visits to the hospitals gave him an excellent opportunity of seeing and conversing with men of different nations, and the march of the Austrians made him acquainted with the dialect of the gipsies. Thrice he told me he has been dangerously ill, and in a kind of "confusion of languages." He is altogether a man of a sensitive nervous system, and much more decidedly and more pusillanimously attached to Catholicism than Mai. He has never travelled, except to Rome and Naples; and to Naples he went to study Chinese at the Institute (for the education of natives of China as missionaries), and there he fell dangerously ill. He seeks the society of foreigners very eagerly in order to converse with every one in his own language. His predilection for acquiring foreign idioms is so strong that he observes and imitates the provincial dialects and accents. He has carried this so far that, for example, he can distinguish the Hamburgh and Hanoverian German very well. Even of Wendish he is not ignorant. This is, indeed, a gift of no very high order; but it is a gift nevertheless, and when exercised in its more dazzling points of practice, sets one in amazement. Mezzofanti understands this well. The Italians admire this distinguished and unassuming man, as the eighth wonder of the world, and believe his reputation to be not only European, but Asiatic, and African also. He is said to speak some thirty languages and dialects; but of course not all with equal readiness. The Persian missionary, Sebastiani, who, in Napoleon's time, played an important political part in Persia, was eagerly sought after by Mezzofanti when in Rome, that he might learn Modern Persian from him; Sebastiani, however, showed himself disinclined to his society, which pained Mezzofanti much. Mezzofanti has been called the modern Mithridates, and thought very highly of altogether. In an intellectual point of view, many learned men, even Italians, are certainly above him: his reading appears at times shallow, owing to its having been so scattered, and it has occurred that he has often repeated the same thing to strangers; but his great and peculiar linguistic talent, which seems as it were to spring from some innate

* This is a great mistake. Mezzofanti was a most [illegible] elegant Latinist. His Latinity was remarkable even in Rome itself.

sense, cannot be denied; his good nature and politeness to the students who frequent the Vatican are very great.' (*Fleck's Wissenschaftliche Reise*, i. 93–5.)

It will be seen that what Herr Fleck speaks of in so depreciatory a tone is the gift of languages itself: of Mezzofanti personally he speaks with respect, and with a grateful sense of his courtesy and good nature. It is not so with the authoress who follows next in order, and whose strictures on the personal manner and bearing of the great linguist we do not hesitate, both from our own knowledge and from the concurring judgment of numberless friends who enjoyed Mezzofanti's acquaintance, to pronounce unjust and supercilious. Mrs. Paget, to whom we are referring, is a Transylvanian lady married to an English gentleman.

'We had hardly time to take even a glance at the objects 'presented to our view,' says Mrs. Paget, by birth Miss Wesselenyi, 'when Mezzofanti entered, in conversation with 'two young Moors, and, turning to us, asked us to be seated. 'On me his first appearance produced an unfavourable im- 'pression. His age might be about seventy; he was small in 'stature, dry, and of a pale unhealthy look. His whole 'person was in monkey-like restless motion. We conversed 'together for some time. He speaks Hungarian well enough, 'and his pronunciation is not bad. I asked him from whom he 'had learned it; he said from the common soldiers at Milan. 'He had read the works of Kissaludi and Csokonai, Pethe's 'Natural History, and some other Hungarian books, but it 'seemed to me that he rather studies the words than the 'subject of what he reads. Some English being present, he 'spoke English with them very fluently and well; with me he 'afterwards spoke French and German, and he even addressed 'me in Wallachian; but to my shame I was unable to answer. 'He asked if I knew Slowakian. In showing us some books, 'he read out from them in Ancient and Modern Greek, Latin 'and Hebrew. To a priest who was with us, and who had 'travelled in Palestine, he spoke in Turkish. I asked him how 'many languages he knew: "Not many," he replied, "for I only '"speak forty or fifty." Amazing incomprehensible faculty! but 'not one that I should in the least be tempted to envy; for 'the empty unreflecting word-knowledge and the innocently 'exhibited small vanity with which he was filled, reminded 'me rather of a monkey or a parrot, a talking machine or a 'sort of organ wound up for the performance of certain tunes, 'than of a being endowed with reason. He can, in fact, only 'be looked upon as one of the curiosities of the Vatican.'

'At parting, I took an opportunity of asking if he would allow me to present an Hungarian book to the Vatican library. My 'first care at my hotel was to send a copy of M. W.'s book' '"Balitéletekről" ('On Prejudices') to the binder, and a few days 'afterwards I took it, handsomely bound in white leather, 'to Mezzofanti, whom I found in a hurry to go and baptize some 'Jews and Moors. As soon as he saw the book, without once 'looking into it, even to ascertain the name of the author, he called 'out, "Ah! igen szep? igen szep, munka. Szepn van bekötve. '"Arányos, szep, szep, igen syep igen kozzönom" (Ah! very 'fine, very fine, very finely bound. Beautiful, very fine, very fine, 'thank you very much;)—and put it away in a bookcase. Un-'happy Magyar volumes, never looked at out of their own country 'but by some curious student of philology like Mezzofanti, and 'in their own country read by how few!'*

Mrs. Paget's visit occurred in the year 1841, and the next authority produced by Mr. Watts is dated 1846. We are enabled, from a very careful and elaborate sketch of Mezzofanti, published in the year 1846, in the well-known Munich journal, 'Historisch 'Politische Blätter,' to supply some additional details of this portion of his life. The author of this sketch is Guido Görres, son of the celebrated Roman Catholic Professor and publicist of that name, and himself not unfavourably known in German literature. During a protracted residence in Rome, Görres enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of Mezzofanti, and took every opportunity which presented itself of testing his extraordinary gift by observing him in conversation with foreigners of all varieties of languages. It would hardly interest any of our readers to record the many offices held by him at different times as cardinal, the congregations of which he was member, or the honours which he received, which occupy a full page of Görres' memoir. The following account of Mezzofanti's linguistic talent is more to our purpose. It is drawn up, not only with greater detail, but, what is equally important, with more regard for scientific arrangement, than any of those we have yet seen.

'The vastness of the range of languages which he had 'mastered borders closely on the incredible; and, what appears 'hardly less marvellous, this enormous store has not only not 'produced any Babel-like confusion in his head, but on the con-'trary lies completely at his command, so that, without the 'least effort and without any observable interval, he passes 'from one realm of language to another, as lightly as a bird hops

* Olazhoni es Schweizi Utazas. Irta Paget, Ianosné, Wesselenyi Polyxena, 1842, vol. i. p. 180.

'from spray to spray. He is familiar with all the European 'languages. And by this we understand not merely the old 'classical tongues and the first class modern ones; that is to 'say, the Greek and Latin, the Italian, French, Spanish, 'Portuguese, German, and English; his knowledge embraces 'also the languages of the second class, viz. the Dutch, the 'Danish, and Swedish, the whole Sclavonic family, the Russian, 'Polish, Bohemian or Czechish, and Servian, the Hungarian, 'and Turkish; and even those of the third and fourth class, the 'Irish, Welsh, Albanian, Wallachian, Bulgarian, and Illyrian, 'are equally at his command. On my happening to mention 'that I had once dabbled a little in Basque, he at once proposed 'that we should set about it together. Even the Romani of the 'Alps, and the Lettish, are not unfamiliar to him; nay, he has 'made himself acquainted with Lappish, the language of the 'wretched nomadic tribes of Lapland; although he told me 'he did not know whether it should be called Lappish or 'Laplandish. Passing along to Asia, it is true that he does not 'claim acquaintance with all the dialects of this vast region, 'with its desolate steppes and its fallen, degenerate, and fast de-'creasing population; but nevertheless, even here, there is 'hardly one of the more prominent languages, especially those 'which fall within the circle of European intercourse, that has 'escaped his grasp. Thus he is master of all the languages 'which are classed under the Indo-German family: the Sanscrit 'and Persian, the Koordish, the Armenian, the Georgian; he is 'familiar with all the members of the Semitic family, the 'Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Samaritan, Chaldee, the Sabaic, and 'even the Chinese, which he not only reads but speaks. As 'regards Africa, and its Hamitic races, the recent revival of 'intercourse with that country, and especially with Egypt and 'Abyssinia, have facilitated the extension of his acquaintance 'with its languages. He knows the Coptic, Ethiopic, Abys-'sinian, Amharic*, and Angolese. I cannot from my own 'knowledge say whether he has acquired any of the native 'languages of America, except the Californian; but I have 'been told that even while he was in Bologna, he learned some 'of these from an ex-Jesuit who had sojourned as a missionary 'on that continent.' (*Historisch Politische Blatter.* 1842, pp. 279–80.)

We shall see hereafter that Mezzofanti actually carried out his intentions in reference to the Basque language in both its dialects, and we are able, also, of our own knowledge to resolve

* The original is *Ancharische:* but we presume it is a misprint.

the doubt which Herr Guido Görres here raises. Mezzofanti had acquired, long before he came to Rome, more than one of the native languages of Central and Southern America. He spoke the dialects of Mexico and of Brazil. Among the few literary remains which he has left is a Mexican calendar, drawn up by himself, and illustrated by drawings from the pencil of one of his nieces, Signorina Minarelli. The catalogue of his library contains several books not only in Mexican, Brazilian, Peruvian, and Chilian, but even in one of the languages of North America—that of the Delaware Indians.*

Herr Görres, on his own part, attests the fluency, the precision, and the unexceptionable accent, with which the Cardinal spoke German; and he tells, as a curious example of the accuracy of his knowledge of other languages, that a Russian lady of his acquaintance, who had written in Russian to introduce a friend to Mezzofanti, was rallied by him afterwards on the ungrammatical and inelegant style in which she had written, and was forced to acknowledge the particular faults in her composition which he pointed out. We, ourselves, remember to have heard the highest testimony to the accuracy and elegance of a letter of his in Portuguese addressed to the Portuguese Embassador. It was perfect, he declared, even to the nicest conventionalities of the epistolary form in use in Portuguese society.

We shall return hereafter to some of the details of Görres' account; but, in the meanwhile, we shall add another of Mr. Watts' authorities, an anonymous Russian traveller, who visited Rome a few years later.

'Twice,' writes this traveller, 'I have visited this remarkable man, a phenomenon as yet unparalleled in the literary world, and one that will scarcely be repeated unless the gift of tongues be given anew, as at the dawn of Christianity. Cardinal Mezzofanti spoke eight languages fluently in my presence: he expressed himself in Russian very purely and correctly; but as he is more accustomed to the style of books than that of ordinary discourse, it is necessary to use the language of books in talking with him for the conversation to flow freely. His passion for acquiring languages is so great, that even now, in advanced age, he continues to study fresh dialects. He learned Chinese not long ago; and is constantly visiting the Propaganda for practice in conversation with its pupils of all sorts of races. I asked him to give me a list of all the languages and dialects in which he was able to express himself, and he sent me the name of God written in his own hand, in fifty-six languages, of which thirty were European, not counting their sub-division of dialects, seventeen Asiatic, also without reckoning dialects, five African, and four American. In his person, the confusion that arose at the building of Babel is annihilated, and all

* See Catalogo della Libreria del Card. Mezzofanti, p. 25.

nations, according to the sublime expression of Scripture, are again of one tongue. Will posterity ever see anything similar? Mezzofanti is one of the most wonderful curiosities of Rome.' *

We have seen that one of the chief opportunities for extending and improving his gift of tongues which Mezzofanti enjoyed at Rome, was his easy and constant access to the living polyglot, the college of the Propaganda. Nowhere, perhaps, in the world is the diversity of tongues so strikingly exhibited as at the annual academical exercises of this celebrated institution, which are held during the octave of the Epiphany, the special festival of the Propaganda. These exercises consist of declamations, both of prose and of poetry, in each of the languages which are represented among the students actually in the college, and which frequently exceed forty in number. On these occasions, Mezzofanti used to be the life of the assemblage. Miss Mitford has given an interesting account of this performance, derived from the late Roman Catholic Bishop Baines.

'He (Dr. Baines) gave a most amusing account of Cardinal Mezzofanti—a man, in all but his marvellous gift of tongues, as simple as an infant. "The last time I was in Rome," said he, "we went together to the Propaganda, and heard speeches "delivered in thirty-five or thirty-six languages, by converts of "various nations. Amongst them were natives of no less than "three tribes of Tartars, each talking his own dialect. They "did not understand each other, but the Cardinal understood "them all, and could tell with critical nicety the points in which "one jargon differed from the others. We dined together, and "I entreated him, having been in the tower of Babel all the "morning, to let us stick to English for the rest of day. Accordingly, he did stick to English, which he spoke as fluently "as we do, and with the same accuracy, not only of grammar "but of idiom. His only trip was in saying, 'That was before "the time when I remember,' instead of 'before my time.' "Once, too, I thought him mistaken in the pronunciation of a "word. But when I returned to England (continued Dr. "Baines) I found that my way was either provincial or old-"fashioned, and that I was wrong and he was right.

'"In the course of the evening his servant brought a Welsh "Bible which had been left for him. 'Ah!' said he, 'this is the "very thing: I wanted to learn Welsh.' Then he remembered "it was in all probability not the authorised version. 'Never "mind,' he said, 'I think it won't do me any harm.' Six "weeks after, I met the Cardinal and asked him how he got on

* Remskiya Pisma, 1846, vol. i. p. 144.

'"with his Welsh. 'Oh!' replied he, 'I know it now: I have '"'done with it.'"'* (*Miss Mitford's Recollections of a Literary Life*, vol. ii. p. 203.)

It was not, however, in the mere capacity of a spectator, or even of a patron, that Mezzofanti was known in connexion with the exercises of the Propaganda. It was notorious in Rome that he took an active and good-natured part in the revision, and perhaps even the actual preparation, of the compositions intended for delivery. 'He was frequently himself,' writes Guido Görres, 'the author of these polyglot poems; and there can be no 'doubt that there never was a poet who essayed his skill in 'such a variety of tongues. A disinterested act of good nature, 'truly! for in most cases, with the exception of himself and 'the individual who is reciting, there is not a soul in the 'assembly who can understand a word of it, much less appreciate 'the poetical merit of the composition.' We can ourselves bear testimony to the truth of Görres's statement. The declamations in the Tamil dialect of Hindostanee, recited year after year by an East Indian student of our acquaintance, were invariably written by Mezzofanti.

Those, however, who desired to witness in its full perfection the extraordinary gift of this wonderful man, instead of these formal holiday exhibitions, sought rather, as we have occasionally done, to see him in his ordinary intercourse with the youths of the Propaganda. It was for years his favourite relaxation. In summer he generally spent an hour, in winter an hour and a half, among them; partly for the sake of practice in their various languages, partly as an innocent and instructive recreation. In the free and familiar intercourse which the good Cardinal encouraged and maintained with those youths, there sometimes arose sportive trials of skill, in which their great amusement consisted in endeavouring to puzzle the Cardinal by a confusion of languages, and to provoke him into answering in a language different from that in which he was addressed. The idea of these trials (which reminded us of the old-fashioned game of 'cross-question,') appears to have originated with the good-humoured old Pope, Gregory XVI. soon after Mezzofanti's arrival in Rome. 'One day,' says M. Manavit,

* Mr. Watts, however, adds, 'that this statement could not imply 'that Mezzofanti could speak the language which he had thus acquired 'from a printed source.' Mr. Watts was informed 'by Mr. Thomas 'Ellis of the British Museum, a Welsh gentleman who saw him more 'than once in his later years,' that he was quite unable to keep up a conversation in the language of the Cymry. Mr. Ellis even felt certain that he could not read with facility an ordinary book.

'Gregory XVI. provided an agreeable surprise for the polyglot 'prelate, and a rare treat for himself, in an improvised conversa- 'tion in various tongues—a regular linguistic tournament. 'Among the mazy alleys of the Vatican gardens, behind one of 'the massive walls of verdure which form its peculiar glory, the 'Pope placed a certain number of the Propaganda students in am- 'buscade. When the time came for his ordinary walk, he invited 'Mezzofanti to accompany him; and, as they were proceeding 'gravely and solemnly, on a sudden, at a given signal, these youths 'grouped themselves for a moment on their knees before his Holi- 'ness, and then, quickly rising, addressed themselves to Mezzo- 'fanti, each in his own tongue, with such an abundance of words 'and such a volubility of tone, that, in the jargon of dialects, it 'was almost impossible to hear, much less to understand, them. 'But Mezzofanti did not shrink from the conflict. With the 'promptness and address which were peculiar to him, he took 'them up singly, and replied to each in his own language, with 'such spirit and elegance as to amaze them all.'

Sometimes, however, a new language made its appearance in the Propaganda. In that case it was Mezzofanti's great delight to commence his studies once again. If the language had any printed books—as a Bible, Catechism, or similar work—he would learn from the new comer to read and translate them. But if, as more than once occurred, the language was entirely without books, he made the pupil speak or recite some familiar prayer, until he picked up first the general meaning, and afterwards the particular sounds, and what may be called the rhythm of the language. The next step was to ascertain and to classify the particles, both affixes and suffixes; to distinguish verbs from nouns, and substantives from adjectives; to discover the principal inflections, &c.* Having once mastered the preliminaries, his power of generalising seemed rather to be an instinct than an exercise of the reasoning faculty. With him the knowledge of words led almost without an effort to the power of speaking: and probably the most signal triumph of his career—his mastery of Chinese—was the one which was accomplished at once latest in life and with fewest facilities. It was so complete, too, that he was able not only to converse freely with the

* The latest instance of this, as it would appear, occurred during the residence of the present writer in Rome, that of two Californian youths, who arrived at the Propaganda utterly ignorant of all but their native dialect. Mezzofanti speedily succeeded in establishing a communication with them, and eventually was able to converse freely with them. Unhappily the Roman climate proved fatal to both these youths in a short time.

Chinese students in the Propaganda, but even to preach to them in their native language. In the year 1843, he delivered to them in Chinese a comprehensive series of religious instructions; or, to use the technical phrase employed by Roman Catholics, he conducted for them, in Chinese, a spiritual retreat, consisting of the celebrated Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola.

Mezzofanti died on March 15. 1849, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was one of the cardinals who remained in Rome after the flight of Pius IX. to Gaeta; and his last illness is believed to have been brought on, or at least accelerated, by the distress and anxiety not unnatural at such a crisis in so devoted a churchman and so affectionate a friend. It is no unequivocal evidence of the respect in which he was held, that, notwithstanding, on the one hand, his well-known devotion to the Papal interests, and, on the other, the hostility towards the reactionary clerical party which animated the councils of the Roman Republic at this period, an offer of public funeral honours was made by the Minister of Public Instruction, which, however, was declined by Mezzofanti's family.

Such is a specimen of the available materials for a sketch of Mezzofanti's career. We have given them, with but little criticism or commentary, as they came from their authors, to be taken at what may be deemed their just value. It is impossible to resist the general impression produced by their united testimony. And yet, after the most careful consideration of them all, we find it extremely difficult even to form a precise estimate of the actual extent of his attainments in each of the languages, or of the exact number with which he was familiar.

If we turn first to the number of tongues with which he was conversant, we are met not only by considerable discrepancy in the statements of the different authorities, but by a vagueness and want of precision in several among them. Stewart Rose says that Mezzofanti '*read twenty and conversed in eighteen lan-*' *guages*;' Baron von Zach extends the number to '*thirty-two*,' 'living and dead:' Blume, though he considers the Baron's account exaggerated as to degree, makes no objection to it in point of number; Molbech says, 'the total number extend[s]' 'more than *thirty* languages:' Fleck makes it '*some thirty*.' [illegible] of his own account of himself we have different repo[rts] Lady Morgan says, that Mezzofanti himself, 'when [illegible]e of 'his *forty* languages,' smiled at the *exaggeration* [illegible] he had 'gone over the *outline* of forty languages;' [illegible], on the contrary, says that, with affected humility, [illegible]ner he spoke '*only forty or fifty*:' and the Russian [illegible] states the [illegible] answer to a question addressed by him [illegible]zofanti as to the

number of languages 'in which he could express himself,' Mezzofanti 'sent him the name of God written with his own 'hand in *fifty-six languages*.' To complete the embarrassment, M. Manavit gives* a detailed list of *fifty-eight* languages spoken by the Cardinal; while another writer, the author of a sketch which appeared in the 'Civiltà Cattolica' (whom M. Manavit quotes, and who states as his authority a conversation with Mezzofanti in 1846), makes the number no less than *seventy-eight!*†

So also, as regards his facility of speaking the several languages, we meet a certain, though by no means the same, amount of discrepancy. M. Manavit's list sets down Irish among his acquirements, upon the very same footing with English, Spanish, German, or any other of the languages in which he is known to have been perfect. Now, we ourselves know that he did not claim to speak Irish thoroughly. He understood and read it perfectly, and with an excellent accent: he was master of the ordinary conversational forms, and of a sufficient stock of words to initiate a conversation, and carry it through its early stages: and it was his habit, on meeting an Irish visitor, to address him in his native tongue, and, if he failed to reply, to banter him good-humouredly on his ignorance of the language of his country. Again, if we took literally Dr. Baines' account as recorded by Miss Mitford, we should conclude that Mezzofanti reported himself to that dignitary as perfect in Welsh, whereas we are informed by Mr. Ellis (himself a Welshman), who must have seen him at a later period, that he 'was quite unable to 'keep up or even to understand a conversation in that lan-'guage.' In like manner, while many of the authorities are loud in their praise of Mezzofanti's English, Herr Fleck declares that his English was 'only middling.' The same writer, speaking generally of his talents, says that, 'of course he does not speak 'all languages with equal readiness;' and Lady Morgan implies even more in the avowal which she attributes to the Cardinal himself, that, 'although he had gone over *the outline* of forty 'languages, he was not *master* of them, as he had dropped such '[illegible] had not books worth reading.'

[illegible] regards the first of these points, we fear, it is now im[illegible] to arrive at any precise and certain conclusion. It is pl[illegible] such accuracy could only be derived either from the testi[illegible] the intimate associates of Mezzofanti, or from some prec[illegible]thentic statement of his own; and from all that has been [illegible]ed on the subject, as well as from the

* Pp. 4[illegible]

† P. 149.

most careful inquiry in every available quarter, we are led to believe that no such authoritative information is now attainable. Mezzofanti does not appear, so far as can be inferred from the accounts both public and private which have come under our notice, ever to have taken the trouble of entering into a full explanation on this precise point. Even if we were to accept without any reserve (which we are by no means disposed to do) the statement of the writer in the 'Civiltà Cattolica' it is plain that the languages there enumerated, are languages with which Mezzofanti was in some degree acquainted, but which he by no means professed to speak. The same, we think, is equally apparent in the case of the answer which he is reported to have made to the Russian traveller. One may be said to be able to 'express himself' in a language without its being implied that he speaks it fluently. At all events, he rather evaded this question than replied to it directly; and it is clear that the answer which he made to Mrs. Paget (whose superciliousness may well appear to have deserved a quiet rebuke even from so mild a man), that 'he did not know many lan-'guages, as he spoke *only* forty or fifty,' was intended merely as a good-humoured quiz upon the lady's indiscretion. And, on the other hand, it is equally apparent (although we do not find any trace of his having drawn up such a classification) that the degrees of his familiarity with the various languages which he knew must have been very various. Although it is not strictly true, as alleged by Lady Morgan, that he cultivated only those languages which had a literature, and neglected all the rest, yet it is quite certain that there were some which, from superior opportunities as well, perhaps, as from greater intrinsic attractiveness, he cultivated much more than the rest. No vague statement, therefore, of his having spoken thirty, or forty, or fifty, languages, could convey an accurate notion of his actual power as a linguist. It would be necessary to classify the several languages, and to specify the degree of acquaintance which he possessed with each. Until we shall have some such classified statement before us, there must always remain much uncertainty as to the real extent of his attainments; and unless farther light should be thrown upon it by some of the papers which he left behind, much of the most interesting part of the history of his extraordinary gift must continue enveloped in mystery.

We are by no means left in the same uncertainty, however, regarding the second point; viz., the degree of familiarity which he possessed with (at least) the principal languages which he spoke. The authorities already alleged place it beyond all doubt

that he spoke almost all the leading languages both of the East and West, with all but the freedom, the precision, and the propriety of an educated native of each of the countries. It is not alone that the general fact is attested by many of these authorities; each traveller has borne testimony to his perfection in the language of his own country. Baroness Ulmenstein took him for a German. Prince Volkonski 'would be very glad if his 'son spoke Russian as well;' Stewart Rose's Smyrniote declared that 'he might pass for a Greek or Turk throughout the 'dominions of the Grand Seignior.' Baron von Zach was 'taken by surprise, and stupefied by his excellent Magyar.' Molbech found him speak Danish 'with almost entire correct-'ness;' and Fleck 'heard him speak Modern Greek to a 'young man who came into the library, Hebrew with a rabbi or 'scrittore of the Vatican, Russian with a magnate who passed 'through, Latin and German with himself, Danish with a young 'Danish archæologist, English with the English, Italian with 'many.' We have ourselves repeatedly received explicit and equally precise assurances, not only from French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Poles, but from Orientals of every variety of race and of tongue. We must refer to M. Manavit for a very interesting account of his minute acquaintance with the various provincial dialects of France and Spain (pp. 108-110. 118-121.), and particularly with the Basque language, which, as we have seen, he proposed to study with Guido Görres. Of his familiarity with English (although Fleck says, 'his English 'was only middling,') the accounts given by the English themselve seem almost more marvellous. He 'astounded Byron even 'to his English;' Captain Smyth said, 'he spoke it more correctly 'than himself.' Lady Morgan could not detect any trace of accent, 'although (at that time) he had never left Bologna.' With Dr. Baines he 'spoke it as fluently as we do, and with the 'same accuracy, not only of grammar but of idiom.' And, even as far back as 1817, Stewart Rose attests that, 'during long 'repeated conversations in English, he never once misapplied the '*sign* of a tense, that fearful stumbling to Scotch and Irish!'*

* As an example of the extraordinary richness, accuracy, and precision of his vocabulary (both in English and in German), we may mention an anecdote which we heard from one of the parties. On a broiling day in summer, two Englishmen (both now eminent, and one in the very highest rank of English literature) were walking with Mezzofanti across the Pincian Hill; they were all conversing at the moment in German, and one of the Englishmen, wishing to say that 'it was 'truly a *sweltering* day,' hesitated and turned to ask his English com

We may add, upon our own part, the fullest confirmation of these statements; and perhaps we shall best illustrate them by stating that we have known more than one instance in which Irish visitors meeting him for the first time, have taken him for an English ecclesiastic, mistaking the slight foreign peculiarity which he retained, for what is called in Ireland 'the English accent.'

It would appear, indeed, as if, in acquiring a new language, Mezzofanti gave his whole mind to it for the time, and as if, when he had mastered it, he possessed the faculty, so rare even with the most practised linguists, of thinking directly in that language, rather than translating his thoughts into it from any other medium. Mezzofanti, too, was one of the few linguists whom we ever knew to succeed as a punster in foreign languages; and he had the curious faculty, besides, of acquiring with the words of each language the peculiar expletive *interjectional sounds* which characterise the native pronunciation of each, and by the absence of which foreigners are invariably detected. It was remarkable, too, that, in speaking Latin with the nations of different countries, he never failed to accommodate his pronunciation of that language to the national usages of the person with whom he conversed, which, in some Latin words, are such as to render natives of different countries who employ them, entirely unintelligible to each other.

We have already said, indeed, that the operations of his linguistic faculty partook more of the nature of an instinct than of an intellectual exercise. It has been not inaptly compared to the gift possessed by some musicians, of learning from ear, by a single effort, and retaining with unerring fidelity, the most difficult and complicated musical compositions. He himself often declared that every language had a certain rhythm (he meant, probably, in its structural inflections), which it was necessary to master in order to follow the language with facility. His mind possessed an instinctive power of catching up and echoing back this mysterious rhythm; and there can be no doubt that, in this power, coupled with the singular quickness and retentiveness of his memory, lay the secret of his prodigious success as a linguist.*

panion what was the corresponding German expression. Without a moment's pause, and before the Englishman could speak, Mezzofanti interposed, '*Schwülig*, of course.' How many natives of either country would have been equally ready with such an out-of-the-way epithet whether in English or in German?

* Among the notable phenomena of Mezzofanti's linguistic faculty, it may be mentioned that in a severe illness (contracted during his visit to the Chinese College at Naples), delirium having set in, he *com-*

It would be a great mistake, nevertheless, to infer that Mezzofanti was a mere mechanical linguist, and not a scientific philological scholar. It is unhappily true that he has not left behind any fruits worthy of the vast resources of his mind; and he himself, more than any one else, regretted that his philological studies came too late in life to be turned to much scientific purpose. In conversation with Guido Görres, he expressed his regret 'that his youth had fallen upon a period in which 'languages were not studied from that philosophical point of 'view in which they are now regarded.' Nevertheless, Görres 'found him well acquainted with the philological labours of the 'German, French, and English authors, and especially with the 'Sanscrit school of Berlin, with Bopp, Rosen, Klaproth, and 'Schlegel.' Molbech says that he was not merely a linguist, but was well acquainted with literary history and bibliography; and Jacobs bears similar testimony to his philological attainments. It would be impossible, however, that a man who was devoted to the actual study of languages, in so far as they are collections of words, could attain the same eminence in the science of languages as those who made the latter their peculiar study; and it is only to be regretted, that while Mezzofanti was in possession of these unexampled stores, he was not, by some lucky combination, thrown into close relations with some of the great comparative philologers of the day, and thus enabled to lend to their theoretical explorations the aid of his practical familiarity with those details which to them could be only known in theory and by conjecture. What might not science hope for from the union of Mezzofanti with Rask or Remusat!

In general learning, it might hardly be expected that he should have attained to much eminence; but he held a respectable rank in almost every department. In the peculiar sciences of his own profession his name stood high in Rome. He was a skilful canonist, and a well-informed theologian. He was not an eloquent preacher, but his familiar lectures (especially instructions intended for children, for which he had a peculiar taste) were most touching and impressive. We should add that he more than once preached extempore in Polish to the soldiers at Bologna. Nor can he be

pletely lost his knowledge of foreign languages, and for several days could not speak a word except his native Italian. It is stated by Mr. Fleck that the various languages became confused in his memory; but we have it on the authority of Mezzofanti himself, that the languages were not confused, but for the time entirely lost by him. This would seem to show that his attainments were chiefly through the faculty of memory.

said to have been unfamiliar with natural science. At one period of his life he cultivated botany*, and even Mrs. Paget records as among the Magyar books which he had read, Pethe's Natural History. During his residence at Bologna he enjoyed the reputation of a mathematician, and M. Libri, whom no one will accuse of a tendency to exaggerate, states that he found him well acquainted not only with the Sanscrit treatise on Algebra, the *Bija Gannita*, but with all the peculiarities of Algebraic science as cultivated by the Hindoos, and with the curious analogies which it presents with the Algebra of the Western world.

Of the personal character of Mezzofanti, all who have written regarding him concur in speaking in the most laudatory terms. The few depreciatory observations of Mrs. Paget are not only entirely unsupported by other visitors, but are at variance with the whole mass of written and oral evidence on the subject. He was amiableness and good nature itself. Warmly and earnestly devoted to his own creed, he was most charitable and tolerant to every variety of belief. His charities in Rome procured for him the soubriquet of *Monsignor Limosiniere* ('My Lord Almoner'). His habits were exceedingly simple, modest, and unassuming. What Mrs. Paget puts down to the account of 'small vanity,' was in reality the result of his simple good nature. He delighted in amusing and giving pleasure; he was always ready to display his extraordinary gifts, partly for the gratification of others, partly because it was to himself an innocent and amusing relaxation: but the idea of display was the last that occurred to him as a motive of action. We can say from our own observations that never, in the most distinguished circle, did he give himself to those linguistic exercises with half the spirit which he evinced among his humble friends, the obscure and almost nameless students of the Propaganda; nor could any one who knew Mezzofanti doubt the full sincerity of the sentiment which he expressed to Görres: 'Alas! what will all 'these languages avail me towards the kingdom of Heaven, 'since it is by works, not words, we must win our way thither!'

It only remains to be added, that, as an author, Mezzofanti, unfortunately, is all but unknown. He himself stated that, from weakness of the chest, he had always found the labour of writing excessively distressing; and with the exception of a few dissertations (chiefly philological, but in part also critical and hermeneutical) his pen appears to have been entirely unproductive. One of these dissertations, on the curious philological problem of 'the Language of the *Sette Comuni*' (a dis-

* Manavit, p. 50.

trict near Vicenza), is supposed to have been peculiarly interesting; but, unfortunately, no trace either of this or of an equally interesting essay, 'On the Comparative Signs of Lan-'guage,' which he is also known to have composed, has been found among his papers. The only known *published* composition of Mezzofanti is a panegyric of his old friend and professor, Padre Emanuel da Ponte, which was read by him at the Institute of Bologna in 1819, and is published in the 'Opuscoli 'Letterari di Bologna.'

In taking leave of Mezzofanti, we must repeat that our admiration of his undisputed attainments is in no wise diminished by this reluctance to pronounce a definitive judgment on one particular point of his literary character—the precise degree of his familiarity with the several languages which he is reputed to have known. We felt that we should not really honour his name by echoing the vague and undiscriminating praise of the unlearned crowd. It is far more difficult to establish the reputation of a linguist now-a-days than it was in his early career. Many of the officials of the Bibliothêque Imperiale at Paris, or of the British Museum (and high upon the list stands the gentleman to whose extremely interesting paper we owe so much—Mr. Watts,) are required, by the every-day exigencies of their official position, to possess as many languages as, some years back, would almost have sufficed to constitute a Mithridates. The difference between the excellence of linguists now-a-days, must be sought more in the degree of their familiarity with the several languages, than in the absolute number of languages which they possess. And although Mezzofanti is proved to have possessed a truly marvellous familiarity with a number of languages certainly beyond all precedent, yet there must still remain much obscurity, both as to the total number of languages which he knew, and the precise degree of his knowledge of some among the number.

Perhaps some yet undiscovered evidence may resolve these curious and interesting doubts. In the meantime, we must content ourselves, like Mr. Watts, with pronouncing him, despite of every drawback and every doubt, 'the greatest linguist the 'world has ever seen.'

ART. III.—1. *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.* By WILLIAM STIRLING. 3rd edition. London, 1853. 8vo.

2. *Charles-Quint. Chronique de sa Vie intérieure et de sa V politique, de son Abdication, et de sa Retraite dans le Cloître de Yuste.* Par AMÉDÉE PICHOT. Paris, 1854. 8vo.

3. *Charles-Quint. Son Abdication, son Séjour, et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste.* Par M. MIGNET. Paris, 1854. 8vo.

4. *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint au Monastère de Yuste. Lettres inédites d'aprez les originaux conservés dans les Archives Royales de Samancas.* Par M. GACHARD. Tome 1er. Bruxelles, Gand, et Leipsig, 1854.

THE influence of individuals on the destinies of the world is generally small. The great majority even of the rulers of mankind merely co-operate in a movement which would have pursued its pre-appointed track as rapidly and as completely if they had never existed. Their work may be well done; but, if they were not there, it would be done just as well by some one else. A few eminent men, whose talents and energy have been aided by fortune, have been able perceptibly to accelerate or perceptibly to retard, the progress of events. Hannibal was among the greatest statesmen, and was perhaps the greatest general, that the world has seen. All that his talents and his energy wielding the whole power of Carthage could do was to delay her fall for a few years. If Rome had not had Hannibal for an opponent she would have subdued Carthage a little sooner: if she had not had Cæsar for a leader she would have subdued Gaul a little later. If he had endeavoured to support her republican institutions, they might have lasted until his death. The fall of Carthage, of Gaul, and of the Roman republic were questions merely of time. But circumstances from time to time occur when the balance between two great events, or between two great systems of events, is so equally poised that the impulse given by a single hand may be decisive. If Lycurgus had died in infancy, the whole history of Greece might have been altered, and a change in the fortunes of Greece might have been a change in the fortunes of the world. The Athenian domination might have extended over Sicily and Magna Græcia, Rome might have been stifled in her early adolescence, and who can say what would now be the state of Europe if she had not undergone the Roman domination or

received the Roman law? If the Barbarian invasion had found her a Greek or a Carthaginian empire?

The beginning of the sixteenth century was one of these critical periods. Great forces, material and mental, were then opposed. The events which were to be the result of their conflict have not yet exhausted their influence: they may affect the human race for many centuries to come. And these forces were so nicely balanced that the preponderance of religion or of superstition, of free inquiry or of unreasoning conformity, of France or of Germany, depended on the conduct of Charles V. and of Luther.

There seem to us to be no grounds for supposing that, if Luther had died, in 1506, a novice in the Augustinian convent of Erfurth, the Reformation, such as it now is, would have taken place. At first sight, indeed, it may appear that the corruptions which he attacked were too gross and palpable to endure the improved intelligence of modern Europe. But we must recollect that on his death Protestantism ceased to extend itself. Its limits are now nearly such as he left them. What was Popish in 1546 remains Popish now. Nor is this to be ascribed to inferiority of political institutions or of cultivation. The democratic cantons of Switzerland, and the well-governed, industrious Flemings, are as strenuous in their adherence to Roman Catholicism as the despotically ruled Danes have been in their rejection of it.

The most highly civilised portions of the Continent are France, Italy, the Low Countries, and Germany. Not one-fourth of their inhabitants are Protestants. If the inherent vices of Popery have not destroyed it in France; if it has withstood there the learning and wisdom of the seventeenth century, the wit and license of the eighteenth, and the boldness and philosophy of the nineteenth, what right have we to assume that those vices would have been fatal to it in Great Britain?

Nor can the permanence of Roman Catholicism be accounted for by its self-reformation. Without doubt, with the improved decorousness of modern times, some of its grossest practical abuses have been removed or palliated. Indulgencies are no longer on public sale. The morals in monasteries and convents, and those of the secular clergy, are decent: there is less of violent active persecution. But a church which claims to be infallible cannot really reform her doctrines. Every error that she has once adopted becomes stereotyped, every step by which she has diverged from truth is irretrievable. All the worst superstitions of the Romish Church are maintained by her at this instant as stoutly as they were when Luther first renounced her

communion. The prohibition of inquiry, the reliance on legendary traditions, the idolatry of relics, the invocation of Saints, the adoration of the Virgin Mary, the merit ascribed to voluntary suffering, and to premeditated uselessness, 'the conversion of 'the Sacraments into charms, of public worship into a magic in-'cantation muttered in a dead language, and of the duty of 'Christian Holiness into fantastic penances, pilgrimages, sca-'pularies, and a whole train of superstitious observances worthy 'of paganism in its worst forms,'* are all in full vigour among many of the Teutonic races and among all the nations whose languages are derived from the Latin. The clergy of France, once the most intelligent defenders of the liberties of the Gallican Church, are now more ultramontane than the Italians.

We repeat our belief that if Luther had not been born, or if he had wanted any one of that wonderful assemblage of moral and intellectual excellences that enabled him to triumph in the most difficult contest that ever was waged by man, if he had had less courage, less self-devotion, less diligence, less sagacity, less eloquence, less prudence, or less sincerity, the Pope would still be the Spiritual ruler of all Western Europe and America, and the peculiar doctrines of Romanism would prevail there, doubted indeed, or disbelieved, or unthought of, by the educated classes, and little understood by the uneducated, but conformed to by all.

On the other hand, if Charles V. had been able, like the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, to shake off the prejudices of his early education,—if, like them, he had listened to Luther with candour, and, like them, had been convinced, and, instead of striving to crush the Reformation, had put himself at its head, a train of consequences would have been set in motion not less momentous than those which would have followed the submission or the premature death of Luther.

The Reformation would have spread over the whole of Germany and of the Netherlands. The inhabitants of those vast countries were all eager to throw off the dominion of Rome, and were kept under her yoke only by the tyranny and persecution of Charles. Germany would have remained an empire. It required the enthusiasm of a religious cause to rouse her feudatories to rise against their sovereign, and to force on him a treaty which, in fact, admitted their independence. It was to the treaty of Passau, to the shock then given to the Imperial sovereignty, that the Elector of Brandenburg, a hundred and fifty years after, owed his crown, and the Emperor, who had re-

* Whately's Errors of Romanism, Essay vi. sect. 3.

cognised one of his vassals as a king, lost all real authority over the others.

If the whole of Germany and the Low Countries had remained one united body, if the former had not been laid waste by the thirty years' war, and the latter by the war which produced the independence of the United Provinces, such an empire would have been the arbiter of the Continent. Flanders, Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Compté would have remained German; France would not have been able twice to threaten the independence of Europe; a Bourbon would not now be reigning in Spain.

No country would have gained so much by such a change in the course of events as Spain. In the first place, she would have become Protestant. Few of the phenomena of that remarkable period are more striking than the weakness of the hold which peculiar religious opinions then possessed over the bulk of the people of Europe. Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, turned the English backwards and forwards, from Romanism to Protestantism, and from Protestantism to Romanism, at the will, we had almost said at the caprice, of the monarch for the time being. The pride of the Roman Catholics had not been roused by the rivalry of a new Church, with bishops, and revenues, and patronage, and power, and rank of its own. The Reformation appeared to them not the introduction of a hostile faith, but a purification of the old one, and wherever it was not persecuted it was adopted.

Ireland may appear to be an exception; but the real sovereigns of the greater part of Ireland were then its native chieftains. Henry VIII. and his immediate successors were hostile pretenders. And it may be added, that the Reformation was not preached to the Celtic Irish. They could not read Latin, and no reformer wrote or preached in Irish.

But if Spain had been Protestant, she would have escaped the Inquisition—the brutalising instrument which more than any other means of misgovernment, more than despotism, or insecurity, or lawlessness, or oppression, has degraded the Spanish mind. She would have escaped the religious wars which wasted her strength for more than sixty years. She would not have been governed by Jesuits and bigots. She would not have been deprived, by the expulsion of the Moors, of the most industrious part of her population. Naples and Sicily, like Spain, would have adopted the faith of their master; and it is probable that Romanism, after lingering for a short time in a portion of France, of Italy, and of Poland, would have gradually died out,

and have been remembered, with magic, astrology, and alchemy, as one of the strange delusions of the dark unreasoning ages.

We cannot but be eager to know more of the men on whose conduct such vast consequences depended. To know how far that conduct was the result of the dispositions implanted in them by nature, and how far of the circumstances in which they were placed. How far it is to be imputed to their advisers, and how far to the solitary working of their own faculties and passions.

We have ample materials to form an estimate of Luther. The business of his life was to write and to talk, and his friends preserved his letters and his conversation with the care, we may say the veneration, which all that came from such a man deserved. In his correspondence and his tisch-reden, we have a fuller and a more detailed revelation of his innermost man than we possess of any other person, with the single exception of Dr. Johnson.

We see his strong conscientiousness, his religious fervour, his impulsive sense of duty, his unwearied diligence, his heroic courage never rushing into rashness; his vivid imagination, checked, though not sufficiently controlled, by his strong reason; and as the result of these passions and faculties, an aggressive force, a power of destruction, which no spiritual reformer, except perhaps Mahomet, ever directed against deeply rooted abuses. We see also a fearful amount of credulity, superstition, intolerance, and violence, to be imputed partly to the ignorance and rough energy of the 16th century, and partly to his severe and confined education, at first in privation, in want, and in beggary, and afterwards among the ascetic observances and dull degrading duties of a monastery.

We see, too, what perhaps was also the result of this education, his deep melancholy, his early and constantly increasing disgust at life, his regrets at not having died in infancy, his despair of improvement; indeed, his expectation that human affairs would go on from bad to worse till the last day, a day which he hoped and believed to be at hand, should close the reign of evil.

Before the publications, the titles of which are prefixed to this article, Charles V. was known to English readers chiefly in the judicious but somewhat pompous pages of Robertson. Robertson remarks that the circumstances transmitted to us with respect to his private deportment and character, are fewer and less interesting than might have been expected from the great number of the authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. And the little that he himself has related of them is so full of error, that we need not regret that he has not given us more.

Within the last twenty years, however, a flood of light has been shed on the details of the great figure, of which, till then, we had seen only the outlines. The 'Correspondenz des 'Kaisers Carl V.,' by Dr. Carl, published in 1845–46, the 'Colecion de Documentos ineditos para la Historia de España,' and the 'Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti,' both works still in course of publication, and the 'Papiers d'Etat du Car-'dinal de Granvelle,' have revealed so much that was unknown, and rectified so much that was mistaken, in his history as an emperor and a king, that it might almost be rewritten; and it now appears that his life, from the time of his abdication, on which little had been published, and that little turns out to have been often erroneous, had been recorded with as much minuteness, and far more fidelity, than even that of Napoleon.

The new sources of information are, A Narrative of the Residence of Charles V. in the Monastery of Yuste, written by one of the monks, and A Correspondence between Charles and his Family, and between his Confidential Attendants and the Spanish Court, embracing rather more than two years, beginning with his arrival in Spain after his abdication, and terminating some months after his death.

These records, however, have, as yet, been imperfectly communicated to the public.

The Narrative is now among the Archives of the Court of Appeal of Brussels. M. Bakhuisen Van der Brinc has published an abridgment of it, and M. Gachard promises to print the whole text in a second volume, still unpublished, of his 'Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint.'

The Correspondence was buried in the Royal Archives of Simancas, which, as might have been expected from the puerile Government of Spain, were carefully kept excluded from foreign, and indeed from native eyes. In 1809, however, the Castle of Simancas was occupied by General Kellerman and his dragoons, acting in the name, and professing to be under the command, of King Joseph. They treated its contents as they usually treated everything that was Spanish. The documents which related to the history of France they sent to Paris, the rest they used as fuel; and when no more was wanted for that purpose, they cut open whole bundles for the sake of the string with which they were tied up. When the Duke of Wellington's surprise of Oporto and advance from Portugal occasioned their retreat, they set fire to the Castle and destroyed a large portion of it, with all that it contained. Ferdinand VII. employed Don Tomas Gonzalez to rearrange and classify the remnant that had not perished during General

Kellerman's occupation. While thus employed he discovered the correspondence relating to Charles V.'s residence at Yuste. The use to which he turned it was to make it the base of a work on the last two years of Charles's life, consisting of the letters which he thought deserving of publication, connected by a brief explanatory notice. At the time of his death in 1825 the work was transcribed for the press, but unprinted. Don Manuel Gonzalez, his brother, succeeded him in his office at Simancas, and inherited his papers. He was displaced and ruined by the revolution of 1836; and after some ineffectual efforts to get a higher price, sold the manuscript to the French Government in 1844. A mention of it in the 'Handbook of Spain' attracted Mr. Stirling's attention. With some difficulty he ascertained its fate, and with still more difficulty, with the united assistance of the President of the Republic, Lord Normanby, and M. Drouyn de L'huys, gained access to it. It is the foundation of what M. Mignet has well described as '*le charmant volume de M. Stirling*,' and of that portion of the work of M. Pichot which is subsequent to Charles V.'s abdication.

But neither of these writers saw the original documents: they quoted the Narrative from Backhuisen, and the Correspondence from Gonzalez. M. Gachard, however, the Archiviste General of Belgium, found the guardians of the treasures of Simancas more complaisant than they had been to any previous traveller. He appears to have had an unlimited permission to have papers copied. He used it to obtain copies of the 237 letters which are contained in the first volume of his work. Of these letters, 201 were written by Quijada, the Emperor's chamberlain, or mayordomo.

Luis Mender Quijada, Lord of Villagarcia, had been thirty-four years in the service of the Emperor at the time of his abdication.

'Unconsciously portrayed,' says Mr. Stirling, 'in his own graphic letters, the best of the Yuste correspondence, he stands forth the type of the cavalier, and "old rusty Christian,"* of Castille—spare and sinewy of frame, and somewhat formal and severe in the cut of his beard and the fashion of his manners; in character reserved and punctilious, but true as steel to the cause espoused or the duty undertaken; keen and clear in his insight into men and things around him, yet devoutedly believing his master the greatest prince that ever had been or was to be; proud of himself, his family, and his services, and inclined, in a grave decorous way, to exaggerate

* 'Cristiano viejo rancioso,' *Don Quixote*, p. i. cap. xxvii., so translated by Shelton.

their importance; a true son of the Church, with an instinctive distrust of its ministers; a hater of Jews, Turks, heretics, friars, and Flemings; somewhat testy, somewhat obstinate, full of strong sense and strong prejudice; a warm-hearted, energetic, and honest man.'

Fifty-seven of the letters were written by Martin Gaztelu, the Emperor's secretary.

'He,' says Mr. Stirling, 'comes next to the mayordomo in order of precedence, and in the importance of his functions. His place was one of great trust. The whole correspondence of the Emperor passed through his hands. Even the most private and confidential communications addressed to the Princess-regent by her father, were generally written, at his dictation, by Gaztelu; for the imperial fingers were seldom sufficiently free from gout to be able to do more than add a brief postscript, in which Doña Juana was assured of the affection of her *buen padre Carlos*. The secretary had probably spent his life in the service of the Emperor; but I have been unable to learn more of his history than his letters have preserved. His epistolary style was clear, simple, and business-like, but inferior to that of Quixada in humour, and in careless graphic touch, and more sparing in glimpses of the rural life of Estremadura three hundred years ago.'

Twenty-six letters from Dr. Cornelius Mathys, the Flemish physician who had the troublesome task of repairing the infirmities and controlling the appetite of his gouty edacious master, complete the gossiping correspondence which relates the domestic life of Charles V.

Nearly all the rest of the letters are political, and consist principally of a correspondence between Charles V. and his daughter, Doña Juana, acting as Vice Queen of Spain; Juan Vasquez de Molina, her Secretary of State; Charles's sister, Mary, Queen Dowager of Hungary: and Philip II.

What the contents of M. Gachard's second volume will be we have not been informed, except that it will contain in full the narrative of the Monk of Yuste.

M. Pichot's work is, what he calls it, a chronicle. It is a collection of anecdotes, letters, conversations, and remarks relating to the domestic life of Charles V., both before and after his abdication, and to the persons who came most into contact with him. Its defect is that which most easily besets biographers—partiality to its hero. Some of the faults imputed to Charles V. M. Pichot extenuates; others he takes the bolder course of denying. When the evidence is doubtful, he explains it away; where it is positive, he discredits it. He disbelieves, for instance, much of the language ascribed to Charles V. by the Prior of Yuste, although the Prior's narrative was written

at the request of the Infanta Juana, by a man of high station, who professes to relate only what he witnessed, and although it is in perfect harmony with all the rest of the information respecting Charles that has reached us. M. Pichot's book, however, though written and arranged far less carefully than either of the others, is lively and amusing, and deserves an honourable place among the numerous biographies of which Charles V. has been the subject.

M. Mignet enjoyed the great advantages of writing the last, and of having the use of the original documents, the proof-sheets of M. Gachard's work having been communicated to him. His work is not so full as that of M. Pichot, nor so varied as that of Mr. Stirling, but it contains in a small space all that is historically important in the two last years of Charles V., arranged with the skill, and told with the elegance which place M. Mignet in the very first rank of modern historians.

As a specimen of the work, we translate the character of Charles V., with which it is concluded.

'I may be accused, perhaps, of having dwelt too much on 'the two last years of Charles V. But nothing that relates to 'a great man is unimportant. We are anxious to know what 'were his thoughts when he had ceased to act, and what was 'his life when he had ceased to reign. And these details ex-'plain the remarkable termination of his political existence. 'Complicated infirmities, unrestrained appetites, long-endured 'fatigue of mind, and increasing devotional fervour, carried him 'from the throne to the convent, and hurried him from the 'convent to the tomb.

'Charles V. was in every sense the greatest sovereign of the '16th century. Uniting the blood of the four houses of Aragon, 'Castile, Austria, and Burgundy, he inherited not only their 'vast territories, but their dissimilar peculiarities. The states-'manship, sometimes degenerating into cunning, of his grand-'father, Ferdinand the Catholic, the magnanimity of his grand-'mother, Isabella of Castile, mixed with the melancholy of his 'mother, Johanna, the chivalrous audacity of his great-grand-'father, Charles the Bold, to whom he bore a personal resem-'blance, and the diligent ambition, love of the fine and of the 'mechanical arts, of his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, '—all these qualities were transmitted to him, together with 'their dominions and their schemes. He not merely supported 'but added to the greatness which had been accumulated on 'his head by the providence of many royal ancestors and the

'chances of many royal successions. The man stood erect 'under the load of the sovereign. For many years his talents, 'so high and so varied, enabled him to play, not without suc- 'cess, his many parts, and to carry on his many undertakings. 'But the task became too great for a single intellect.

'As King of Aragon he had to keep Sardinia, Sicily, and 'Naples, left to him by his predecessors, and to acquire Milan, 'lest his powerful rival, once ruler of Northern Italy, might 'become master of the South. As King of Castile he had to 'conquer and colonise America. As Sovereign of the Low 'Countries he had to protect the possessions of the House of 'Burgundy against the House of France. As Emperor of 'Germany his political duty was to repel the Turks, then in 'the fulness of their strength and of their ambition; and his 'religious duty was to check the progress, or at least to prevent 'the triumph, of Protestantism. All these tasks he undertook. 'Aided by great captains and great statesmen, well chosen and 'skilfully employed, he managed with ability and perseverance 'a policy which was never simple, and wars which recommenced 'as soon as they appeared to be terminated. He was to be seen 'in every country, facing every adversary, leading his own 'armies and conducting his own negotiations. He evaded no 'obligation imposed on him by his station or by his belief. 'But, perpetually turned aside from one object by the necessity 'of pursuing another, he often began too late, and was forced 'to end too soon.

'Some of his enterprises he accomplished. In Italy, opposed 'by Francis I. and Henry II., at the price of thirty-four years 'of exertion and five great wars, in which a king of France and 'a pope were among his prisoners, he subjected one part of the 'country to his own government, and the remainder to his own 'influence. He not only preserved but extended his dominions in 'the Low Countries, adding to them Guelders, Utrecht, Zutphen, 'and Cambray, which he relieved from their vassalage to France. 'The Turk was in Hungary, and the corsairs of Africa habi- 'tually ravaged the coasts of Italy and the islands of the Medi- 'terranean. He repulsed the formidable Solyman from before 'Vienna in 1532, tore Goletta and Tunis from the fierce Bar- 'barossa in 1535, and would have conquered Algeria in 1541 if 'he had not been conquered himself by the elements. He 'would have made Christendom secure from attack by land or 'on sea, and have been himself the protector of the Mediter- 'ranean, instead of leaving it to his heroic son, the victor at 'Lepanto, if he had not been perpetually called away to meet 'a different danger in a different quarter.

'His attempt to force Germany back to her ancient faith 'failed, only because it was made too late. He had neglected 'Protestantism while it was weak; when he attacked it, it was too 'strong, I will not say to be destroyed but even to be restrained. 'For thirty years the tree had been growing, its roots had 'penetrated deep into the soil of Germany, its branches covered 'her fields. Who could then uproot it? The sovereign of 'Catholic Spain and of Catholic Italy, the chief of the Holy 'Roman empire, opposed to Protestantism by his position and 'by his belief, he thought in 1546 that the time was come when 'his temporary toleration might be discontinued, and heresy 'might be put down by the force of arms or by the authority 'of a council. He was established in Italy, and successful in 'France and in Africa, and he marched on the Protestants of 'Germany. During two campaigns he was victorious over the 'Protestant troops. He could subdue armies, but not con- 'sciences. His religious and military triumph over nations 'that were resolved to be neither converted nor enslaved, roused 'every Protestant from the Elbe to the Danube. Old hatreds 'were revived, questions, supposed to have been long settled 'were reopened. Charles turned to bay against calamity, but 'he had come to the end of his strength—of his good fortune— 'of his life. Exhausted by illness, overtaken in his last effort 'by this irremediable reverse, unfit for enterprise, almost for 'resistance, incapable of extending, almost of controlling, the 'vast empire which on his death was to be divided, having 'established his son in England, and made an honourable truce 'with France, and determined not to treat with the victorious 'heresy of Germany, he effected, what he had long meditated, 'an abdication, which was demanded by the diseases of the 'man, the lassitude of the sovereign, and the feelings of the 'Christian.

'Abdication operated no change in him. The devotee was 'still a statesman. He had renounced power, but not the 'habits of command. Though he had become personally dis- 'interested, he was ambitious for his son. From his monastery 'in 1557 he assailed Paul IV., as in 1527 from his throne he 'had rebuked Clement VII. He counselled Philip II. to follow 'up his advantage against Henry II. as vigorously as he himself 'had pushed his success against Francis I. He planned the 'means of defending Christendom against the Turks, whom he 'had repelled from Germany and vanquished in Africa. He 'continued to defend Catholicism against Protestantism with 'all his old sincerity and more than his old ardour, for his time 'of action was passed. He had now only to believe; and

'though a man's conduct may bend to circumstances, his convictions ought to be inflexible. He continued to be the head and the umpire of his family, the object of their love, their respect, and their obedience. Obstinate as a Spaniard in belief, sagacious and firm in policy, equal to every different emergency, what he had been on the throne he remained in the convent; his death was pious and humble, but his life lofty and magnanimous.' (P. 450.)

We are not sure whether we ought to quote from a book so well known as that of Mr. Stirling; but we believe that our readers will not be sorry to be recalled to his brilliant, amusing pages, and to compare them with the balanced periods, the comprehensive condensations, and the well considered antitheses of his accomplished successor. Mr. Stirling's character of Charles is thus introduced by the story of his death.

'Towards eight o'clock in the evening, Charles asked if the consecrated tapers were ready. He was evidently sinking rapidly. The physicians acknowledged that the case was past their skill, and that all hope was over. Cornelio retired. Mathys remained by the bedside, occasionally feeling the patient's pulse, and whispering to the group of anxious spectators, "His majesty has but two hours to live "—but one hour—but half an hour." Charles meanwhile lay in a stupor, seemingly unconscious, but now and then murmuring a prayer and turning his eyes to heaven. At length he raised himself and called for "William." The physician looked towards the door, and said to the archbishop, who was standing in its shadow, "*Domine, jam moritur!*" The primate came forward with the chaplain Villalva, to whom he made a sign to speak. It was now nearly two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first of September. Addressing the dying man, the favourite preacher told him how blessed a privilege he enjoyed in being about to die on the feast of St. Matthew, who for Christ's sake had forsaken wealth, as his majesty had forsaken imperial power. For some time the preacher held forth in this pious and edifying strain. At last the Emperor interposed, saying, "The time is come: bring me the candle and the crucifix." These were cherished relics, which he had long kept in reserve for this supreme hour. The one was a taper from Our Lady's shrine at Montserrate, the other, a crucifix of beautiful workmanship, which had been taken from the dead hand of his wife at Toledo, and which afterwards comforted the last moments of his son at the Escorial. He received them eagerly from the archbishop, and taking one in each hand, for some moments he silently contemplated the figure of the Saviour, and then clasped it to his bosom. Those who stood nearest to the bed now heard him say quickly, as if replying to a call, "*Ya, voy, Señor*," — "Now, Lord, I go." As his strength failed, his fingers relaxed their hold of the crucifix, which the primate therefore took, and held up before him. A few moments of death-wrestle between soul and body followed; after

which, with his eyes fixed on the cross, and with a voice loud enough to be heard outside the room, he cried "*Ay, Jesus!*" and expired.

'So ended the career of Charles V., the greatest monarch of the memorable sixteenth century. The vast extent of his dominions in Europe, the wealth of his transatlantic empire, the sagacity of his mind, and the energy of his character, combined to render him the most famous of the successors of Charlemagne. "Christendom," wrote a Venetian envoy* in 1551, in one of those curious secret reports addressed by the keenest of observers to the most jealous of governments, "has seen no prince since Charlemagne so wise, so valorous, or "so great as this Emperor Charles." Pre-eminently the man of his time, his name is seldom wanting to any monument of the age. He stood between the days of chivalry, which were going out, and the days of printing, which were coming in; respecting the traditions of the one, and fulfilling many of the requirements of the other. Men of the sword found him a bold cavalier; and those whose weapons were their tongues or their pens, soon learned to respect him as an astute and consummate politician. Like his ancestors, Don Jayme, or Don Sancho, with lance in rest, and shouting Santiago for Spain! he led his knights against the Moorish host, among the olives of Goletta; and even in his last campaign in Saxony, the cream-coloured genet of the Emperor was ever in the van of battle, like the famous piebald charger of Turenne in later fields of the Palatinate. In the council chamber he was ready to measure minds with all comers; with the northern envoy who claimed liberty of conscience for the Protestant princes; with the magnifico who excused the perfidies of Venice; or with the still subtler priest, who stood forth in red stockings to gloze in defence of the still greater iniquities of the Holy See. In the prosecution of his plans, and the maintenance of his influence, Charles shrank from no labour of mind, or fatigue of body. Where other sovereigns would have sent an ambassador, and opened a negotiation, he paid a visit, and concluded a treaty. From Groningen to Otranto, from Vienna to Cadiz, no unjust steward of the house of Austria could be sure that his misdeeds would escape detection on the spot from the keen cold eye of the indefatigable Emperor. The name of Charles is connected, not only with the wars and politics, but with the peaceful arts, of his time: it is linked with the graver of the Vico, the chisel of Leoni, the pencil of Titian, and the lyre of Ariosto; and as a lover and patron of art, his fame stood as high at Venice and Nuremberg as at Antwerp and Toledo.

'There can be no doubt that the Emperor gave the true reasons of his retirement when, panting for breath, and unable to stand alone, he told the states of Flanders that he resigned the government because it was a burden which his shattered frame could no longer bear. He was fulfilling the plan which he had cherished for nearly twenty years. Indeed, he seems to have determined to abdicate almost at the time when he determined to reign. So powerful

* Marino de' Cavalli: *Bulletin de l'Acad. Roy. de Bruxelles*, tom. xii. p. 57.

a mind as that of Charles, has seldom been so tardy in giving evidence of power. Until he appeared in Italy, in 1529, the thirtieth year of his age, his strong will had been as wax in the hands of other men. Up to that time the most laborious, reserved, and inflexible of princes, was the most docile subject of his ministers. His mind ripened slowly, and his body decayed prematurely. By nature and hereditary habit, a keen sportsman, in his youth he was unwearied in tracking the bear and the wolf over the hills of Toledo and Granada; and he was distinguished for his prowess against the bull and the boar. Yet ere he had turned fifty, he was reduced to amuse himself by shooting crows and daws amongst the trees of his garden. The hand which had wielded the lance, and curbed the charger, was so enfeebled with gout, that it was sometimes unable to break the seal of a letter. Declining fortune combined with decaying health to maintain him in that general vexation of spirit which he shared with king Solomon. His later schemes of policy and conquest ended in nothing but disaster and disgrace. The Pope, the Turk, the King of France, and the Protestant princes of the Empire, were once more arrayed against the potentate, who, in the bright morning of his career, had imposed laws upon them all. The flight from Innsbruck avenged the cause which seemed lost at Muhlberg. The treaty of Passau, by placing the Lutheran religion amongst the recognised institutions of the Empire, overturned the entire fabric of the Emperor's policy, and destroyed his hopes of transmitting the imperial crown to his son. While the doctors of the Church assembled at Trent, in that council which had cost so much treasure and intrigue, continued their solemn quibblings, the Protestant faith was spreading itself even in the dominions of the orthodox house of Hapsburg. The finances both of Spain and the other dominions of Austria were in the utmost disorder; and the lord of Mexico and Peru had been forced to beg a loan from the Duke of Florence. It is no wonder, therefore, that Charles seized the first gleam of sunshine and returning calm to make for the long-desired haven of refuge; that he relieved his brow of its thorny crowns as soon as he had obtained an object dear to him as a father, a politician, and a devotee, by placing his son Philip on the rival throne of the heretic Tudors.

'His habits and turn of mind made a religious house the natural place of his retreat. Like a true Castillian,

> 'With age, with cares, with maladies opprest,
> He sought the refuge of conventual rest.'

Monachism had for him a charm, vague yet powerful, such as soldiership has for the young; and he was ever fond of catching glimpses of the life which he had resolved, sooner or later, to embrace. When the Empress died, he retired to indulge his grief in the cloisters of La Sisla, near Toledo. After his return from one of his African campaigns, he paid a visit to the noble convent of Mejorado, near Olmedo, and spent two days in familiar converse with Jeromites, sharing their refectory fare, and walking for hours in their garden alleys of venerable cypress.

'To the last Charles loved his woodland nest at Yuste. It has been said that he was wont to declare that he had enjoyed there more real happiness in one day than he had derived from all his triumphs*, an extravagant assertion, which is nevertheless far nearer the truth than the idle tale that his retirement was a long repentance of his abdication. But the cloister, like the world, was not without its disappointments. He had escaped only from the pageantry of courts, not from the toil and excitement of public affairs. To Yuste he had come, seeking solitude and repose; but although his chamberlain complained bitterly that he had indeed found the one, his own long and laboured despatches proved that he enjoyed but little of the other. He began by attempting to confine his attention to a few matters in which he was specially interested, and which he hoped ere long to bring to a happy termination; but the circle gradually widened, and at last his anxious eye learned once more to sweep the whole horizon of Spanish policy. From the war in Flanders he would turn to the diplomacy of Italy or Portugal; and his plans for replenishing the treasury at Valladolid, were followed by remarks on the garrisons in Africa, or the signal towers along the Spanish shore. He watched the course of the vessel of state with interest as keen as if the helm were still in his own hands; and the successes and the disasters of his son affected him as if they were his own. Unfortunately, in 1557 and 1558, the disasters greatly outnumbered and outweighed the successes. On one side of the account stood the brilliant but barren victory of St. Quentin, and the less signal but better employed victory of Gravelines; on the other, there were the bullion riots at Seville, the disgraceful treaty of Rome, the loss of Calais and of Thionville, the sack of Minorca, and the outburst of heresy. He might well dread the arrival of each courier; and the destruction of the army of Oran was announced in the despatches which lay unread on his table at the time of his death.

'In one point alone did Charles in the cell differ widely from Charles on the throne. In the world, fanaticism had not been one of his vices; he feared the keys no more than his cousin of England, and he confronted the successor of St. Peter no less boldly than he made head against the heir of St. Louis. While he held Clement the Seventh prisoner at Rome, he permitted at Madrid the mockery of masses for that pontiff's speedy deliverance. Against the Protestants he fought rather as rebels than as heretics, and he frequently stayed the hand of the victorious zealots of the Church. At Wittenburgh he set a fine example of moderation, in forbidding the destruction of the tomb of Luther, saying that he contended with the living and not with the dead.† To a Venetian envoy, accredited to him at Bruxelles, in the last year of his reign, he appeared free from all

* Phil. Camerarii *Meditationes Historicæ.* 3 tom. 4to. Francofurti: 1602–9, i. p. 210.

† Juncker: *Vita Mart. Luteri,* sm. 8vo. Francofurti: 1699, p. 219. Sleidan: *De Statu relig. et. reip.,* lib. xix., is cited as his authority.

taint of polemical madness, and willing that subjects of theology should be discussed in his presence, with fair philosophical freedom.*

'But once within the walls of Yuste, he assumed all the passions, prejudices, and superstitions of a friar. Looking back on his past life, he thanked God for the evil that he had been permitted to do in the matter of religious persecution, and repented him, in sackcloth and ashes, for having kept his plighted word to a heretic. Religion was the enchanted ground whereon his strong will was paralyzed and his keen intellect fell grovelling in the dust.'

In one important respect M. Mignet's estimate of the character of Charles V. differs from that of Mr. Stirling. Mr. Stirling, as we have seen, absolves him from fanaticism during his imperial life, and affirms that it was only within the walls of Yuste that he assumed the passions and superstitions of a friar. M. Mignet believes that he was intolerant throughout; that he temporised with heterodoxy only where he did not feel strong enough to put it down; and that whenever he dared, he was as fierce a persecutor on the throne as he wished to be when in the convent.

Charles's letters, now published *in extenso*, and his conversations, as reported by the prior of Yuste, appear to us to establish M. Mignet's opinion.

The Inquisition had flourished in the appropriate soil of Spain. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella it had burnt 20,000 heretics, and banished 900,000†, and spread at least the appearance of Catholicism over the whole of the Peninsula. It wielded both civil and ecclesiastical power; it punished sins, crimes, and opinions; it covered the country with its judges, its officers, and its spies; it made its own laws, and executed them. What they were—what was its procedure—what was the nature and the amount of the evidence that it required—what were the doctrines which it punished by death, what by perpetual imprisonment, what by exile, what by infamy, and what by confiscation—on what presumptions it employed torture against the accused, and against those who might be supposed to know or to suspect his opinions—all these were the mysteries of the Holy Office, into which it was dangerous even to inquire. This tribunal Charles supported, with all his authority, in Spain and in Sicily; he introduced it into the Low Countries, and was prevented only by an insurrection from establishing it in Naples.

But even the Inquisition could not effectually protect Spain from the contagion of Lutheranism.

* *Relatione* of Badovaro. † Mignet, p. 353.

'Alors,' says M. Mignet, 'dans l'Europe érudite et raisonneuse, 'hardie par curiosité, religieuse en esprit, tout précipitait vers 'l'hérésie: le savoir y disposait, la piété en rapprochait, la 'controverse y entraînait.'*

A little more than a year after the entrance of Charles into the monastery, he received from Vasquez, the secretary of his daughter the Vice-queen of Spain, a letter dated the 27th April, 1558, informing him that, four days before, Cazalla, his own chaplain, with his sister, and many other ladies of great reputation for piety, had been arrested by the Inquisition: that the son of the Marquis de Poza, Domingo de Rojas, a Dominican friar much venerated by the people, had fled; and that persons of high rank were supposed to be infected with heresy.†

Charles answers, not the secretary, but the Vice-queen herself. Considering that not only the safety of the kingdom, but the honour of God, is involved in the matter, he implores her to urge Valdez, the Inquisitor General, to use the utmost despatch, and to punish all the guilty, without any exception, with the rigour and the publicity deserved by their crimes. Nothing but the absolute impossibility of moving prevents him from leaving his retreat in order personally to superintend the persecution.‡

He appears to have written to the same effect to his own secretary, Quijada, then at Valladolid; for Quijada, on the first of May, reports a conversation with Valdez, in which, in obedience to Charles, he had advised summary procedure and immediate punishment, and Valdez had answered, that he thought it better to conform to the usual rules of the Holy Office; that by patience and solicitation confession might often be obtained, and if not so, then by ill-treatment and torture [con malos tratamientos y tormentos].§

Charles does not appear to have been quite satisfied.

On the 25th of May, he writes again to his daughter, and after lamenting, that after his comfort had been destroyed, and his salvation endangered, by the heresies of Germany, he should in his old age, when he had retired from the world to serve God, have to witness such audacious scoundrelism ‖ he repeats that but for his reliance on her activity and severity, he should himself resume power in order to punish the guilty. 'As this business,' he continues, 'concerns more than any other

* Mignet, p. 356. † Gachard, tome i. p. 288.
‡ Ibid., p. 294. § Ibid., p. 290.
‖ We know of no better translation of 'una tan gran desver-'guenza y bellaqueria.'

'our duty to God, it is necessary that the remedy should 'be immediate, and the chastisement exemplary. I doubt 'whether the ordinary rule should be followed, which lets 'off with moderate punishment those who have sinned for 'the first time and renounce their guilt: seeing that it is 'probable, that being educated persons, whose heresy has 'been the result of inquiry, they will fall into it again. I will 'also suggest to you whether, in order to deprive them of 'public sympathy, they may not be proceeded against for 'sedition or treason. Perhaps it may be well to refer you, as a 'precedent, to my conduct in the Low Countries. I proposed to 'check the heresies that were imported from Germany, England, 'and France, by introducing the Inquisition. I was opposed, 'and it ended by a decree that all persons, whatever their 'station, guilty of the opinions therein mentioned, should *ipso* '*facto**, be burnt, and their properties confiscated: that spies 'should be appointed to discover the guilty and denounce them 'to the courts in order that the obstinate might be burnt alive, 'and the repentant beheaded.† All which was done.' (*Ibid.*, p. 297.)

Vasquez replies by answering for the severity of the Inquisition; and adds, that, as it is the cause of God, he hopes for divine assistance. (*Ibid.*, p. 304.)

A still stronger light is thrown on the religious opinions of Charles by a conversation between him and some of the monks of Yuste, related by Martin de Angulo, the prior.

'The heretics,' he said, 'must be burnt—not to burn them 'would be to incur the sin which I incurred when I let Luther 'escape. I did not put him to death, because I would not 'violate the promise and the safe conduct which I had given to 'him. But I was wrong. I had no right to forgive a crime 'against God. It was my duty, without having any regard to 'my promise, to avenge the injury which his heresy had inflicted 'on God. I should probably have cut short its progress. It 'is very dangerous to talk with these heretics. They deceive 'you by their subtile studied reasonings. Therefore I never 'would enter into any discussion with them. When I was 'marching against the Landgrave and the Duke of Saxony, 'four of the Lutheran princes, speaking in the name of all, 'said to me, "Sire, we have taken arms, not to make war

* 'Ipso facto fuesen quemados.' Ipso facto, we suppose, means, on summary conviction,—a drum-head court-martial.

† 'Para que quemasen vivos a los pertinaces y a los que se reconciliasen les cortasen las cabezas.'

'"against your Majesty, or to renounce our allegiance, but '"because you call us heretics, and we believe that we are '"none. We have our learned men, your Majesty has yours. '"Let the question be discussed in your presence, and we bind '"ourselves to abide by your decision."

'I answered that I was not learned, but that the learned men 'might argue the matter among themselves, and that mine 'would report to me the result. Now if I had acted otherwise, 'and these heretics had got any of their doctrine into my head, 'how could I have got it out? For this reason I never would 'hear them, though they promised, if I would do so, to join me 'with all their troops. Afterwards when I was flying before 'Maurice, with only six horsemen for my attendants, two 'princes of the Empire, speaking again in the name of all, 'implored me to hear them explain and defend their religious 'opinions, and no longer to treat them as heretics, promising 'on that condition to support me with all their forces, to drive 'the Turks from Hungary, and either to make me master of 'Constantinople, or to die in the attempt. I answered, that I 'would not buy, at that price, all Germany and France, and 'Spain and Italy: so I spurred my horse and left them.'*

Charles was one of the ablest men of his age, indeed of any age. His powerful natural talents had been exercised and strengthened by the constant management of great affairs, and by constant intercourse with eminent men. Yet such are the strange delusions by which the most powerful intellects may be abused on matters of religion, that he believed that the adopting, after full conscientious inquiry, an erroneous doctrine, was an injury to God and to man, a crime and a sin; to be punished by a cruel death here, and by eternal misery hereafter. With a strange confusion of thought, he considered such errors voluntary, or he would not have punished them; and yet involuntary, or he would not have feared their being implanted in him by discussion.

That error may sometimes be voluntary must be admitted. The man who from carelessness or timidity neglects or refuses to ascertain the real grounds on which he believes and disbelieves; the Roman Catholic who, for fear of unsettling his mind, will not hear what the Protestant has to say, the Trinitarian who refuses to discuss his faith with the Socinian, is right or wrong only by accident. The errors of a man who rejects information are as voluntary as any other part of his conduct.

* Cited from Sandoval by M. Gachard, *Bulletins de l'Academie Royale de Bruxelles*, tom. xii. p. 251. I^er^ partie.

But the error of those who have never had an opportunity of ascertaining the truth, and of those who, after patient and candid examination, have come to a wrong conclusion, depends no more on the will than the bitter taste of camomile or the hot taste of pepper. We might as usefully punish a man for being sea-sick as for being convinced.

Again, it must be admitted that error, though involuntary, may lead to sin. A man may sin from not knowing what is his duty, or from believing that his duty consists mainly in the performance of things really useless, or from believing that his duty consists in doing acts absolutely mischievous: in other words, he may sin through ignorance or through superstition. But in such cases the danger of the error arises from its practical nature. If error be merely speculative, if it relate, for instance, to the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the Pre-existence of the Father, or the Immaculate Conception, there seems to be no reasonable ground for imputing to it any guilt.

Now, purely speculative questions are precisely those which have been most furiously debated. They have created more hatred, more bloodshed, more wars, and more persecution than all practical questions put together. And for this reason, that practical questions generally admit of a decision. They are debated and disposed of. Speculative questions are eternal. Their premises are generally ambiguous, often unintelligible. The discussion resembles an argument between two deaf men, in which neither attaches any meaning to the words uttered by the other. What is the real difference between the Transubstantiation of the Roman Catholics and the Consubstantiation of Luther? The former believes that by consecration the substance of the bread and wine are changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The latter affirmed that 'The true body of Christ is present under the appearance of 'bread, and also his true blood under the appearance of wine. 'And that that body and blood are not spiritual and fictitious, 'but the true and natural body which was born of the most 'Holy Virgin, which same body and blood are now sitting at 'the right hand of the Majesty of God in that divine Person 'who is called Christ Jesus.'*

And for the one or for the other of these opinions, each of them we venture to say devoid of meaning, thousands have thought it their duty to kill, and thousands have thought it their duty to die.

We have said that Charles was a man of extraordinary

* Cited—Waddington's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 217.

ability. He was also a man of extraordinary piety. Immersed as he was in politics and in wars, ruling and even administering great and dissimilar kingdoms, surrounded by enemies both foreign and domestic, managing the home affairs and the foreign affairs of Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, providing and then commanding their armies and their fleets, his principal business, the matter which engrossed the most of his attention, was the working out his own salvation. And he believed the first requisite to salvation to be a correct faith. Such, however, was his conduct as to involve him in errors, the public mischief of which cannot be exaggerated, or, if there be any guilt in error, the private guilt. In the first place, his errors belonged to the class which we have termed voluntary. They were the result of his obstinate determination not to inquire. If on a march he had been told, 'Your maps are false, your guides 'are ignorant or treacherous, if you advance in this direction 'you will destroy your army. Here are the proofs;' would he have refused to look at the evidence, burnt alive the informants, and continued his course?

In the second place, his errors led him not merely to reliance on useless observances and charms, but to ferocious cruelties, and, what was much worse, because much more permanent, than any death or torture inflicted on individuals, to measures which have kept in darkness and semi-barbarism one of the most energetic races, and perhaps the finest country, in Europe.

This is not the place to discuss Charles's chances of happiness in another world. We have to do only with his reputation in this. And we must say that, judging by the event, estimating him by the influence which his conduct has had over the subsequent fortunes of Europe, and indeed of America, we allot to him a conspicuous station among the enemies of mankind. He might have done more good, and he actually did more harm, than any sovereign that has reigned since Charlemagne.

ART. IV.—1. *Etudes sur la Littérature Française du Dix-neuvième Siècle.* Par A. VINET. Paris: 1849.

2. *Histoire de la Littérature Française du Dix-huitième Siècle.* Par A. VINET. Paris: 1853.

SUMMARY views and elaborate expositions of the History of French Literature having been already given to the world by men of the accomplished erudition and masterly grasp of

mind of Barante and Villemain, it might have seemed that a work on the same subject by a writer of certainly not equal though more than respectable powers, was scarcely needed. But there is this valid plea for the publication of the lectures which we have placed at the head of our article: — The authors we have named approached their task mainly, if not exclusively, in an æsthetic or a philosophic spirit; Vinet approaches it mainly, though not exclusively, in a religious temper. On the debateable ground where Literature and Christianity mingle *they* were neutral; *he* is an earnest and sincere believer, and is disposed to regard and judge the great writers of this age and of past ages by a standard which, if severer, is certainly in some respects loftier and purer, than that which it has been the custom to apply. Not that we mean to intimate that Vinet's estimates are either bigoted or narrow, but they are those natural to a mind coloured and imbued with earnest feelings and rooted convictions on the great subject of Religious Faith.

Alexandre Vinet, who died about seven years ago, was Professor of French language and literature, first at the Gymnasium at Basle, and afterwards at the Academy of Lausanne, his native city, where he delivered, in 1844, the lectures that are now before us. At an early age he became a minister of the Gospel in the Protestant Church of Switzerland — a Church remarkable for its liberality, or what many would call its latitudinarianism. The tendencies of Vinet were, however, more evangelical than was usual among his brethren, and a spirit of deep and somewhat enthusiastic piety breathes through his numerous *brochures;* and when, in 1841, the constitution of the Church was modified by the Council of State in a manner he could not approve, he resigned his position, both as preacher and as Professor of Theology at Lausanne (to which he had been appointed in 1837), and devoted the remainder of his life to his favourite pursuit — that of Literary History.

Abridgments are notoriously profitless, meagre and jejune; the attempt to sketch in a few pages the characteristics of a whole century of intellectual production must always be unsuccessful and unsatisfactory, and the more fertile the age the more inadequate must generally be the portraiture. Yet it cannot be doubted that generations and epochas have for the most part certain distinctive features, at once salient and pervading, which, as they belong to the political circumstances or the social condition of the period,—to those influences, that is, which most powerfully modify the intellect of the time and country,—are traceable in all departments in which that intellect exerts itself, and give a peculiar cast and colouring alike to the

poetry, the fiction, the oratory, the philosophy, and the controversy to which that age gives birth. More powerful still, perhaps, are they in deciding on what departments the intellect of the time shall be most active; determining its bent sometimes towards religion, sometimes towards speculation, at one period towards the realms of fancy, at another towards those of practical life.

The seventeenth century was one of vast mental activity and vigour. Few eras present such a galaxy of great names in nearly every walk of literature—great preachers, great poets, great dramatists, great moralists,—Bossuet and Massillon, Pascal and Fenelon, La Bruyère and La Rochefoucauld, Corneille and Racine, Molière and Descartes. These were men of various genius, of discrepant opinions, of irreconcilable tastes. Still, certain qualities and certain negations characterise all their productions. Their age was preeminently the age of settled, though not of earnest convictions, of unquestioning but scarcely of stirring faith. It was an age of *obedience*,—when the yoke of authority weighed upon every channel of intellectual pursuit, but was not yet felt to be a yoke. The literary world then embraced but a narrow circle, and on that circle the influence of the court rested with a pervading pressure that was scarcely recognised as pressure, because never resisted. Philosophers speculated energetically, but always with submission, under correction, and within the limits which the Church prescribed. Literary talent was never more active, but it expatiated under the overshadowing authority of the ancients, and according to the conventional rules of polished society. All the productions of the time bore the classic stamp. They were 'correct' above every thing. It is impossible to call them shallow, yet they were scarcely profound. They did not stir the secret depths of the inner man. They contain no aspirations after the Infinite, no pictures of a soul in conflict with the primary mysteries of its being, no subtle questionings and gropings about the *roots* of the Tree of Knowledge, no 'thoughts that wander through 'Eternity and find no resting-place.' On the other hand, there is nothing wild, nothing morbid, nothing extravagant. The age has all the characteristics of a classic, as distinguished from a romantic epoch.

Other features, too, distinguish it notably from the age which followed. The subjects selected by men of letters were different, their interests ran in a different channel, their ambition was directed to a different aim. They were more purely *literary* than their successors. They were immeasurably more exclusive in their social sympathies. They wrote for Court circles, and

spoke of citizens only in the way of ridicule. Of THE PEOPLE, their wants, their pleasures, their interests, their sorrows, they knew little and cared less. The problems of social life, dark, sad and disturbing, never troubled them. They never perceived that the world was out of joint, or fancied they were born to set it right. They aspired to no political influence; the only politics with which they had any concern were those of Court intrigue — the miserable strifes of personal ambition; the Government of the country was the business of the monarch — they did not aspire to share either his labours or his prerogative; practically to influence society, to modify or meddle with the destiny of nations, to put forth thoughts which should agitate, convulse, or re-organise the world, was a presumption which never visited them even in dreams. Their highest aim was to instruct, to amuse, to interest, to melt, to sway, the cultivated and the great.

The seventeenth century threw its shadows so far over the eighteenth, that it is not till about 1746 that the peculiar features which we are accustomed to consider as characteristic of the latter epoch began to be prominently developed. The change which then became manifest, and grew more and more marked till the outbreak of the Revolution, had, however, been gradually preparing. Its seeds were sown before the seventeenth century was ended. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantz had operated as a narcotic on the religious spirit and religious literature of France. All the vitality which had of late so distinguished it died out. The Gallican Church had gained a triumph as ruinous as the victories of Pyrrhus. She had silenced or exiled all her enemies and critics. But what was the result? 'Where after this period' (says Robert Hall) 'are we to look 'for her Fenelons and her Pascals, where for those bright 'monuments of piety and learning which were the glory of her 'better days? As for piety, she perceived that she had no 'occasion for it, when there was no lustre of Christian holiness 'surrounding her; nor for learning, when there were no longer 'any opponents to confute, nor any controversies to maintain. 'She felt herself at liberty to become as ignorant, as secular, as 'irreligious as she pleased; and, amid the silence and darkness 'she had created around her, she drew the curtains and retired 'to rest.' She became more exclusive, more narrow, more oppressive as she became more unenlightened and unintelligent, till shrewd and reflecting minds could tolerate her irrationalities no longer; and Thought, thrust out from her gates with suspicion and dislike, inevitably took service with her rival. Philosophy, finding that religion would not own her or converse

with her, became irreligious, naturally, and in self-defence. Nor was this all. The writings of the exiled Protestants, now free from any terror or restraint, penetrated, though partially, into literary circles; and among the refugees was one whose wit and learning secured him a partial and attentive audience, and had a vast influence in stimulating the scepticism of the coming age. This was Bayle, the very incarnation of the spirit of placid, relentless, comfortable Doubt; to whom nothing was sacred, for whom nothing was certain; essentially a critic and a questioner; probably the only great thinker who ever breathed freely in an absolute vacuum of faith.

Another cause operated simultaneously to liberate men's minds from the trammels of authority. The respect, the enthusiasm, the sincere but servile loyalty with which the monarch had been long regarded, melted away under the disasters, the follies, and the scandals of his later years. The great Image which the Nation had set up and worshipped so devoutly was at length discovered to be made of clay,—and scarcely of finer clay than ordinary men. While young, gracious, imposing in demeanour, royal in his tastes, victorious in his wars, endowed and surrounded with everything that looked like greatness, it was easy for courtiers to fancy him omnipotent and infallible, and to transmit their fancy to the nation. But when success abroad, and wise policy at home, began alike to fail him; when he endeavoured to atone for the criminal and shameful license of his life by puerile austerities at least as shameful, and barbarous persecutions incalculably more criminal; when he exacted from those around him, who felt none of his compunction, his own rigid penances and his own formal asceticism, and prescribed a hypocritical and gloomy puritanism as the sole path to court favour among a keen-witted, laughing, mocking, pleasure-loving tribe,—the overstrained cord gave way; the sacred prestige of Royalty was gone; and power, ceasing to be venerated, soon ceased to be feared.

At the same time, a long reign of lavish luxury and splendour had done its work in other directions. Abuses of all descriptions crept into every branch of the Administration, and were rife and riotous in every hole and corner of the land. The state of matters became too scandalous and too notorious to be endured in silence by any in whom patriotism and a sense of justice were not utterly extinct; the profligacy, both political and personal, of the Regency, was such as to place the whole weight of public sympathy on the side of *frondeurs*, investigators, and reformers; and the same circumstances which stimulated as-

saults on the excesses and vices of authority rendered such assaults comparatively safe.

All these causes combined to render the eighteenth century as nearly as possible the intellectual opposite of its predecessor. It was essentially an era of reaction, of doubt, of inquiry, of antagonism. Literary activity took a wider range; literary men addressed a wider audience; the circle of readers extended, till something like 'a public' began to be formed, and it became both the fashion and the interest of writers to address the public instead of the court. The wit and epigrammatic taste of the French aided this change. Royalty and religion, as they then exhibited themselves, offered too tempting subjects for stinging sarcasms and conversational brilliancy to be spared even by men belonging to the Government or the Church; those who profited by the malversations and administrative iniquities of the period were yet among the first to hold them up to ridicule; statesmen, generals, and nobles preferred to be considered men of wit and letters rather than men of quality; and, for the first time, literature became a *puissance* in France. 'Le gouverne-ment,' says Barante, 'qui régnait alors luttait avec faiblesse et irrésolution contre cette influence; mais comme la France ne devait à ce gouvernement ni gloire, ni puissance; comme les armes étaient sans éclat, la cour sans dignité, les mœurs sans pudeur, l'état sans lois, les défenseurs de la religion sans bonne foi,—l'opinion publique se tournait entièrement du côté d'une philosophie qui flattait tous les amours-propres, qui dégageait de tous les liens, et érigeait en système le mépris du pouvoir—qu'il était en effet difficile de respecter.'* Intoxicated with power and adulation; excited more and more by the indefensible abuses and the grotesque anomalies which every fresh investigation brought to light; surprised, too, and delighted to find how easily what had once been so powerful yielded to their onslaught, and how astoundingly what had once been so sacred crumbled beneath their logic; goaded also by compassion for a down-trodden people and a zeal for the public good which, in some, was pure and sincere, in others, mingled with much alloy of baser sentiments,—they became daily more daring, aggressive, and indiscriminate; they aspired not only to govern society, but to reorganise it.

Hence, the literary spirit of this age is in a most marked degree practical, utilitarian, and analytic. Hasty pamphlets took the place of elaborated works, and poetry was discarded for philosophy. It is remarkable that the eighteenth century

* 18th Siècle, Introd., p. 35.

produced no poet of eminence except Voltaire; and poetry was neither his especial *forte*, nor his principal title to renown; and much even of his poetry was didactic and polemical. The philosophy which prevailed was coarse, materialistic, and destructive — made for the special occasion — devoted to a special purpose. The reaction against despotism, which showed itself in literature as much as in life, was rather a hatred of restraint than a pure love of freedom: it cleared away many noxious and entangling weeds; but it grew no matured or wholesome fruit. It was the inspiration alike of Voltaire, of Montesquieu, of Rousseau; but in Montesquieu alone is it genuine, rational, and sober.

Literature itself, too, in becoming a means and not an end, lost its purity and completeness. It ceased to be an art, and was degraded into a weapon; and, as a natural consequence, style was far less regarded than of yore, for men do not sedulously polish swords which are needed for the rough prompt use of actual warfare. The productions of other nations began to be studied as well as their institutions; there was an intellectual as well as a material importation from abroad. Science, also, both the exact and economic sciences, attracted an unusual degree of attention; and the enterprise of the great Encyclopedia of itself showed how remarkable a change had come over the intellectual spirit of the age. The Encyclopedists it was who, with inferior weapons, and in a rougher, harsher, colder style, completed the work which their three far greater precursors had begun, and gave to the century its peculiar repute as an atheistic and destructive era.

> 'They made themselves a fearful monument, —
> The wreck of old opinions — things which grew
> Breathed from the birth of time . . .'

Assuredly it was not an era on the intellectual phenomena of which the human mind can look back with either pride or gratification. Its philosophy was shallow; its insight was partial; its temper was cynical, bitter, and ungenial. Even in its most beautiful productions, there was a pervading tone of the meretricious and unsimple. But it was not without its grand and redeeming features. It had a great work to do, and it did it effectually. Its mission, though not one of the noblest or most pleasing, was a necessary one. Execution had to be done upon things no longer worthy to live: 'Laissez passer la 'justice de Dieu.' And if that execution had been done 'all in 'honour,' and nought in hate,' — if a spirit of earnest faith, instead of angry and reckless cynicism, had presided over and

hallowed the ordained sacrifice,— we might have looked back to the officiators at that mighty hecatomb with reverence and gratitude, where now we can feel no warmer sentiment than a reluctant admiration, strangely chequered with disapproval and disgust.

In estimating the characteristics by which the French literature of the present age is distinguished from that of its predecessor, M. Vinet does not give us as much assistance as we could desire. His 'Etudes,' mainly the substance of a course of lectures delivered at Lausanne in 1844 and 1846, are incomplete and fragmentary. The first volume is devoted to Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël; the second to the poets — Lamartine, and Victor Hugo, and Beranger; the third is little more than a collection of criticisms on a number of contemporary writers, none of them of more than second-rate eminence, and some absolutely obscure. It is difficult to divine the principle, if any, which guided the selection. Probably, however, for this Vinet is less to blame than his editors; for the publication is a posthumous one.

We are yet too close to the era we would judge, too much involved in its partialities, too agitated still by its wild storms and its crowded catastrophes, to be able fully or fairly to paint its intellectual portrait. A few of the more marked and abiding features are all that we can hope successfully to catch and delineate. And, first, we must observe that when we speak of the literature of the nineteenth century in France, we mean, with scarcely an exception, the second portion of that century —the interval from 1815 to 1848. During the iron but skilful despotism of Napoleon, there was scanty literary achievement, because there was no mental freedom: the whole period of the Empire produced only two celebrities in the arena of letters; and though these were unquestionably about the most brilliant and influential geniuses of the whole century, yet both wrote under persecution and in exile. They were in the age, but not of it. Of the thirty or forty authors whom M. Vinet enumerates as belonging to Napoleon's reign, two only in no degree bore its features or submitted to its impress; and these two alone have survived—Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand.

It was otherwise with science, especially with the exact sciences. These flourished under the Empire. Researches into nature occupied spirits that might otherwise have been turbulent and dangerous; they mooted no menacing or disturbing questions; the knowledge which they brought to light might even be made profitable to the purposes of conquest and oppression. Scientific men, therefore, were honoured, and science

was pursued in a more laborious temper, in a more conscientious spirit, and with far severer exactitude than heretofore. There was less of brilliant description, less of mere poetic speculation, but far more of patient inquiry, of minute observation, of close logic, of comprehensive study. Buffon came to be read no longer as a naturalist, but as a consummate master of a fascinating and seductive style; and the contrast between him and Cuvier, La Place, Fourcroy, Arago, and Lacépède, marks a notable change and a vast advance in the intellectual development of the nation.

A second peculiarity of the epoch is the revival of Historical Literature. In this respect the present century is greatly distinguished from the past. The whole of the eighteenth century produced only three French historians — Rollin, Voltaire, and Raynal; and of these the second is the only one whose works either are or deserve to be read now. And even his histories, pleasant and easy reading as they are, owe their interest and reputation more to their delightful style than to their intrinsic value. Neither as to accurate research, nor philosophical estimate of men and things, nor as to their analysis of political influences and operations, would they meet the severer requirements of this age. They were rather brilliant *aperçus*, than grave, impartial, studiously investigated chronicles. When sparkling narrative and lively pictures were all that was required, Voltaire was at home. When profound reflection was needed, when hidden causes had to be traced to their remote effects, when subtle problems had to be solved, or difficult and complicated characters had to be analysed, no man, except Southey, was ever more at fault. He was fortunate in the choice of his first subject. 'Il eu le bonheur,' says Barante, 'de choisir, pour son héros, le plus romanesque et le plus aventureux des souverains. La réflexion avait peu de prise sur la vie du roi de Suède; elle en eût même détruit l'intérêt. Il fallait de la rapidité dans le récit, et des couleurs éclatantes. La connaissance profonde et la juste appréciation des hommes étaient peu nécessaires, quand il s'agissait d'un Prince qui s'était montré tout en dehors. Il n'y avait pas de grandes conceptions à juger, de motifs secrets à démêler. Charles XII. était tout entier dans les faits. Il n'y avait qu'à peindre; et c'était un des talens de Voltaire.' But when he undertook the far different and more ambitious task of depicting the reign of Louis XIV. he fell far short of even moderate success: it is not to his work that any one desirous of thoroughly comprehending that important epoch would go for enlightenment; and tried by the standard which we now defer to, the solitary his-

torian of the eighteenth century must be considered to have failed in many of the higher qualities needed for his vocation.

The historians of this era have been far more numerous, and of a far higher stamp. It could scarcely have been otherwise. The circumstances of the age are sufficient to explain the strong tendency of its literature in the direction of history. Times so thronged with astonishing events and startling convulsions; so fertile in great deeds and great men; so rich in harvests to be traced back to their seeds; so rife in characters to be analysed and in problems to be solved; so palpitating with every intensest human interest, — offered irresistible temptations to every reflecting and artistic spirit. Grand models for the portrait-painter; stirring strifes and agonising catastrophes for the scene-painter; profound and subtle questions of a character to task the utmost sagacity of the philosopher; hopes, illusions, vicissitudes, and ruins to furnish the saddest and sublimest texts that ever moralist had to preach from;—all these were scattered in the most lavish and bewildering confusion over the annals of a single generation. The only difficulty lay in the *embarras des richesses.* The wonderful wealth of materials was like that which Clive described in the treasure vaults of the Indian prince. Those who loved to flatter national vanity and to depict national triumphs, saw wherewithal to satiate the most ravenous appetite for glory. Those who looked with a cynical eye on human enthusiasm, on dreams of perfectibility and schemes for a regenerated universe, never had a scene of such awful disenchantment to gloat over. Those who believed in a Supreme Governor of this earthly chaos, and who loved to trace the finger of retributive justice in the vicissitudes of history, could be at no loss for examples of the most righteous chastisement for the most terrific crimes. Those whose mental ambition took a wider range, and who aspired to construct a philosophy of cause and effect out of the chronicles of states, might not unreasonably flatter themselves that now at length they had a basis of fact wide, varied, and complete enough to enable them to build their edifice without the charge of rashness and presumption. While polemic writers of every predilection — the conservative and the progressive — those who believed in a realising Future, as well as those whose faith was rooted in an irrecoverable Past — might alike fancy that history could be made to speak their language and to combat for their creed, according as they fixed their partial gaze on the undeniable advances made, or on the fearful price at which every step forward had been purchased.

A period in which history was enacted on a scale of such

unparalleled magnificence could scarcely fail to create a strong bias towards historical pursuits. Accordingly, among a cloud of lesser names, we find the eminent ones of Michelet, Mignet, Thierry, Guizot, Thiers, and Lamartine, as having produced, in this department of literature, works which after times will not willingly let die. The three last of these historians, if not the most intrinsically valuable, are unquestionably the most renowned, though the fame of one of them may possibly be only transient. Each is distinguished by certain strongly marked characteristics. Guizot, a perfect model of profound and conscientious erudition — never taking his facts at second-hand, but preparing himself for every enterprise by the most laborious research into original and contemporary documents — masterly in his *resumés*, comprehensive in his speculations, and unrivalled for the luminous ease and the consummate skill with which he collects and arranges all the premises out of which his conclusions are to flow, — is yet singularly wanting in one of the first qualifications for his noble calling: he is unreadable except by students as laborious and conscientious as himself. He is, in truth, less an historian than a professor of history — less of a narrator or painter than of a disquisitionist. His *dramatis personæ* do not *live*; he understands them to the core; he analyses them with an instrument of singular subtlety and finesse; but he cannot make them exhibit and expound themselves. His penetration and sagacity are those of a superior, not of a sympathising, creature; his impartiality has in it something of repellent coldness; with great dignity of style and a sustained moral elevation, he manifests no emotion, and can therefore excite no enthusiasm. As one of his own countrymen expresses it, 'Il sait, et ne sent pas. Et comme il persiste à parler comme 'parlerait un esprit pur, sans témoigner ni joie ni colère, il ne 'tarde pas à lasser l'attention, et le lecteur méconnait bientôt 'les mérites réels qui le recommandent.' Nevertheless, his account of the English Revolution, or what we term the Great Rebellion, will always maintain its place — but a place, we fear, rather on our shelves than in our hands; and his two Histories of Civilisation, in France and in Europe, are works of such surpassing and enduring merit that every one ought not only to read but to study them: it is a pity that any defects of style should have been suffered to make so instructive and indispensable a perusal a task and not a pleasure.

These defects are of a kind rather to be felt during a perusal of his writings than to be pointed out by the critic or illustrated by special examples; and we can scarcely avoid a constant self-

reproach for feeling them so strongly when engaged in the study of such masterly and luminous productions.

The 'Histoire de la Révolution Française,' and the 'Histoire 'du Consulat et de l'Empire,' of M. Thiers—the one the production of his early youth, the other of his mature manhood—are both brilliant performances. M. Thiers is as free as it is possible to be alike from the peculiar merits and the peculiar defects of his great countryman and rival. His worst enemy cannot deny the singular fascination of his flowing, incisive, and pictorial style. His blindest admirer could scarcely venture to claim for him the praise of impartiality or scrupulous exactitude. He writes often like a statesman, oftener like a partisan; rarely like a grave and far-seeing philosopher, never like a frigid or honourable judge. He has, indeed, and pretends to have, nothing of the cosmopolite about him. He is emphatically and before all things a Frenchman. He sees everything from a French point of view; he relies on French authorities; he draws almost exclusively from French sources; he overflows with French prejudices; he writes to immortalise French achievements and to exhibit French trophies. But his personages live and move; he sheds his own overflowing vivacity both over events and over scenes; he knows admirably how to narrate, to paint, and to discuss; and though no philosopher, he is a sagacious, acute, and thoughtful politician. His reflections, his speculations, his analyses of influences, his tracings-out of causes, are among the most interesting portions of his work. The interest of the narrative never flags for a moment, and even the disquisitions which he frequently introduces are so brief, so much to the purpose, and so admirably interwoven with the events out of which they spring, that they are never felt as interruptions. His summaries are wonderfully lucid; and his political science, though often shallow and fallacious, is so pointedly, brilliantly, and epigrammatically worded, that we are dazzled and delighted too much to demur and doubt as often as we ought. There is a precision, a sparkling vigour about his periods that scarcely ever fails to enlist us on his side. Macaulay himself is not easier reading. He possesses, in fact, nearly every qualification for an historian—except the chief of all—fidelity. No writer of our day, on this side of the Atlantic at least, has been more resolutely wilful in seeing everything through the coloured and distorting medium of his own personal and patriotic predilections. As he would trample upon every principle of right rather than that France should be baffled or eclipsed, so he would distort every fact, and repudiate every authority, rather than admit anything that records her humilia-

tion or dishonour. In his moral code, the love of country reigns paramount alike over the love of justice and the love of truth.

Perhaps the most splendidly successful portion of M. Thiers' historical works is his sketch of the reorganisation of France in the first years of Napoleon's consulship; and of all the chapters he has devoted to this subject, we know of none more masterly than that which treats of the motives and negotiations which led to the Concordat, and the restoration of religious worship. After a vivid portraiture of the discomfort prevailing in the minds of thousands, who, having been married and baptized by priests of questionable authority, scarcely knew whether they were living in a state of grace or in a state of mortal sin; the quarrels between the *assermenté* and *non-assermenté* clergy; and the silent hostility of the latter to the new régime,—as political motives for some conclusive settlement, M. Thiers proceeds thus:—

'Il faut une croyance religieuse, il faut un culte à toute 'association humaine. L'homme, jété au milieu de cette 'univers, sans savoir d'où il vient, où il va, pourquoi il souffre, 'pourquoi même il existe, quelle récompense ou quelle peine 'recevront les longues agitations de sa vie; assiégé des contra- 'dictions de ses semblables, éprouve le besoin impérieux, irre- 'sistible de se faire sur tous ces sujets une croyance arrêtée: 'vraie ou fausse, sublime ou ridicule, il s'en fait une . . . Dès 'lors, que peût-on souhaiter de mieux à une société civilisée 'qu'une religion nationale, fondée sur les vrais sentiments du 'cœur humain, conforme aux règles d'une morale pure, consacrée 'par le temps, et qui, sans intolérance et sans persécution réunisse, 'sinon l'universalité, au moins la grande majorité des citoyens, 'au pied d'un autel antique et respecté.

'Une telle croyance, on ne saurait l'inventer, quand elle 'n'existe pas depuis des siècles. Les philosophes, même les 'plus sublimes, peuvent créer une philosophie, agiter par leur 'science le siècle qu'ils honorent; ils font penser, ils ne font pas 'croire. Un guerrier couvert de gloire peut fonder un empire, 'il ne saurait fonder une religion. Que dans les temps anciens, 'des sages, des héros, s'attribuant des relations avec le ciel, 'aient pu soumettre l'esprit des peuples, et lui imposer une 'croyance, cela s'est vu. Mais, dans les temps modernes, le 'créateur d'une religion serait tenu pour un imposteur; et, 'entouré de terreur comme Robespierre, ou de gloire comme le 'jeune Bonaparte, il aboutirait uniquement au ridicule.

'On n'avait rien à inventer en 1800. Cette croyance pure, 'morale, antique, existait; c'était la vieille religion du Christ, 'ouvrage de Dieu suivant les uns, ouvrage des hommes suivant

'les autres, mais suivant tous, œuvre profonde d'un réformateur 'sublime Elle existait, cette religion, qui avait rangé 'sous son empire tous les peuples civilisés, formé leurs mœurs, 'inspiré leur chants, fourni le sujet de leurs poésies, de leurs 'tableaux, de leurs statues, empreint sa trace dans tous leurs 'souvenirs nationaux, marqué de son signe leurs drapeaux tour 'à tour vaincus ou victorieux. Elle avait disparu un moment 'dans une grande tempête de l'esprit humain; mais la tempête 'passée, le besoin de croire revenu, elle s'était retrouvée au fond 'des âmes, comme la croyance naturelle et indispensable de la 'France et de l'Europe.

'Quoi de plus indiqué, de plus nécessaire en 1800, que de 'relever cet autel de Saint-Louis, de Charlemagne, de Clovis, 'un instant renversé. Le Général Bonaparte, qui eut été ridi- 'cule s'il avait voulu se faire prophète ou révélateur, était dans 'le vrai rôle que lui assignait la Providence, en relevant de ses 'mains victorieuses cet autel vénérable, en y ramenant par son 'example les populations quelque temps égarées ... Sur ce 'sujet, il ne s'était élevé le moindre doute dans sa pensée. Ce 'double motif, de rétablir l'ordre dans l'état et la famille, et de 'satisfaire au besoin moral des âmes, lui avait inspiré la ferme 'résolution de remettre la religion Catholique sur son ancien 'pied, sauf les attributions politiques, qu'il regardait comme in- 'compatibles avec l'état présent de la société française.

'Est-il besoin, avec des motifs tels que ceux qui le dirigeaient, 'de rechercher s'il agissait par une inspiration de foi religieuse, 'ou bien par politique et par ambition? Il agissait par sagesse, 'c'est à dire par suite d'une profonde connaissance de la nature 'humaine: cela suffit. Le reste est un mystère, que la curi- 'osité, toujours naturelle quand il s'agit d'un grand homme, 'peut chercher à pénétrer, mais qui importe peu.'

M. de Lamartine, by his 'Histoire des Girondins,' achieved a vast reputation, which has not been increased certainly, if even it has been confirmed, by his more recent work 'L'Histoire de 'la Restauration.' Few works at their first appearance produced a more instantaneous or remarkable sensation; but it is more than doubtful whether the next generation will ratify the verdict of the present. In any case it is not from the Muse of History that M. de Lamartine will receive his laurel crown. His writings, though dealing with historical characters and times, are not histories, in any accurate or fitting signification of that word. The first is a gallery of portraits; the second is a series of episodes. The portraits are magnificent specimens of word-painting, it is true; but the colouring is gaudy, excessive, and sometimes even coarse. The episodes are narrated, and

their scenes described, with an eloquence at once imposing and seductive; but wearying from its monotonous and meretricious splendour, and paining from its frequent inflation and bad taste. An imagination so vivid and a vocabulary so rich as M. de Lamartine's are dangerous gifts, and need the especial control of the strictest moral and æsthetic rules. Unhappily this discipline has been signally wanting. M. de Lamartine is as unscrupulous as M. Thiers, and far more inaccurate. He evidently considers facts as of so little consequence that he gives himself no pains to ascertain them. Thiers distorts them under the temptation of a false patriotism, Lamartine under the temptation of a false passion for effect. In the delineation of his characters, in the selection of his scenes, in the concoction of his maxims and reflections, he has one object and only one in view —to produce a telling impression, to create an effective picture. Under his pen the Girondins and their adversaries assume colossal dimensions, both as to their talents, their virtues, and their crimes; when he approaches Brissot, Murat, Robespierre, or Danton, his thought is not, 'what was the real character or 'career of these men?' but, 'what sort of heroes of romance 'can I most successfully make out of them?' When he comes to the history of the Restoration, the case is still worse. He professes to narrate the events of the period from 1814 to 1830, in eight volumes; and he consumes five before 1815 is closed. The mode in which he contrives this is curious and almost incredible. He devotes half a volume at least to a minute description of the catastrophe of the Duke D'Enghien (which occurred in 1803); as much to the detailed sufferings of the royal children in the Temple (which belong to 1793); and nearly the same space to the romantic adventures and early life of Murat. He does not scruple to revive the old practice—long since condemned by our severer standard and abandoned by every writer with the slightest pretensions to fidelity or taste— of putting speeches into the mouths of his heroes, and even goes so far as to give *verbatim* the magniloquent conversations between royal personages at interviews which were strictly secret and *tête-à-tête*. Puerilities like these are unworthy alike of the gravity of history, and of a genius like M. de Lamartine's; and we scarcely know which is the most surprising, that he should stoop to them, or that his readers should tolerate and applaud them. Even among his own countrymen, however, he has incurred some reprobation from a discerning few. 'Des deux 'seules manières connues d'écrire l'histoire' (writes M. de Carné) '*ad narrandum et ad probandum*, pour parler avec Quintilien, il 'n'avait choisi ni l'une ni l'autre. Lorsqu'on a terminé la

'lecture de cette œuvre trop fameuse, il est impossible de soup-
'çonner le but moral. D'un autre côté, l'auteur ne semble pas
'plus s'inquieter de l'exactitude des faits que de la portée des
'conclusions; on dirait que pour lui ni la vérité ni la moralité
'n'existent dans l'histoire, tant il se donne peu de peine pour
'y atteindre.'

A third and cognate feature of the period of French history we are traversing, is the vast proportion of intellect which has taken the direction of practical politics. With scarcely an exception, all the most eminent writers of the time have become, at one portion or other of their career, statesmen, pamphleteers, or journalists.* Some, as Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, after giving their youth to literature, properly so called, were drawn into the vortex of public affairs later in life, and gave their country or their party the active assistance of their pens. Others, like Thiers and M. de Tocqueville, rose by journalism and political writings and became senators and statesmen, because they had been authors. Others, like Guizot, Villemain, and Cousin, owed their ministerial position purely or chiefly to their acknowledged literary renown. Nearly every French author of the century, of first-rate reputation, has been a member of some legislative chamber. Nearly every one has been a diligent contributor to the political periodicals of the day. The influence of newspaper literature, as well as its excellence, is a feature peculiar to our times. In the 18th century, there was and could be scarcely any thing resembling it. In the latter years of that era, indeed, many of the most vigorous minds applied themselves to politics,—but it was to politics as a speculative science, not as an active profession. Scarce one of them became a statesman; and none became a statesman because he had been a writer. But the wonderful events of the revolution and of the times which followed it, presented an irresistible attraction to men conscious of great literary powers, while a free press and an elective chamber offered them an arena worthy of the amplest and the noblest ambition. Through these channels they might hope to produce a prompter and directer, if not a mightier influence on their times, than by the slow and more uncertain

* 'M. de Chateaubriand appartient à une époque où presque tous les homme doués de grandes facultés ne pensent pas leur avoir donné un assez digne emploi, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient pu les mettre au service de l'État ou aux gages de l'ambition. Il y a encore des hommes de lettres, il y en aura toujours; mais le pouvoir sera de plus en plus préféré à la gloire, ou, si mieux on l'aime, la gloire politique aux honneurs littéraires.' (*Vinet*, vol. i. p. 223.)

medium of books; and distinction, too, for more egotistic minds, might be more rapidly attained. Never before and never elsewhere have men of letters exercised so great or so immediate a share in the government of their country as in France during the epoch of which we write. Ancient institutions had been swept away; the old hierarchy was dethroned; the old aristocracy had been abolished; the old dynasty had been twice discarded; the splendid usurper who reigned for a while had done his work and passed away, — and intellect, and intellect manifested mainly by the voice and pen, became the sovereign ruler of nations. Writers swayed the sceptre which of yore belonged to kings, warriors, and priests; can we congratulate them without reserve on the wisdom of their administration, or the uniform purity of their triumphs? In truth, if their success has been far below their ambition and their hopes,—if they have destroyed much that ought to have been sacred from assault, and have constructed little that is noble or enduring, — the explanation is not far to seek. They, like their predecessors on the throne they have usurped, have too often been destitute of firm convictions or disinterested purpose; they have chosen their career not as a sacred calling, but as a lucrative or promising profession; they have donned the robes and entered the ranks of the solemn and glorious priesthood of the good and true, with no special aptitude for the vocation, with no due preparation for its painful and exhausting toils, with no adequate conception of its grave responsibilities and its heavy obligations, and with scarcely a glimpse of its sublime and radiant goal. They have rushed into the arena of conflict armed with no spotless weapons, conscious of no definite and well-considered aim, careless what they shielded and at what they struck, anxious chiefly that the world should take note of them as vigorous and skilful gladiators. Seeking only, or first, for position and renown, how could such impure labourers in the field of thought hope to do good and abiding service to their country?

It may at first sight appear singular that the age whose intellect has manifested so strong a bent towards practical and political life, should also have witnessed a revival and a marked development of the poetic element — especially of lyrical and descriptive poetry. Yet so it is, and perhaps it ought not to surprise us. A period of great mental activity seldom restricts that activity to one channel. The same energy, the same life, overflows now in this direction, now in that, according to the bias of the individual character. But there is another reason why the nineteenth century in France should be fertile of poets, and of lyric rather than of dramatic and didactic poets. It has

been among our neighbours a period of greater *earnestness* than any that have preceded it, except perhaps the penultimate decade of the last century; and it is in the earnestness, strength, and solemnity of individual emotions, that subjective poetry has its origin and draws its inspiration. The drama flourishes in days of prosperity and splendour, like those of Elizabeth and Louis Quatorze, when literature can be studied and practised as a fine art. Didactic poetry belongs to a cold, correct, and philosophising age, like that of Anne. But epochs when men's souls are stirred to depths hitherto unreached, when sufferings and sorrows of startling severity are thickly sown in nearly every destiny, when terrible problems and terrible events leave little room for levity or leisure, are the very cradle and festival of the lyric muse. Men feel passionately and intensely, and their feelings force themselves an utterance in involuntary song.

Of the eighteenth century, as we have seen, Voltaire was the only French poet; and his poetry had nothing lyrical about it. But the nineteenth century has already produced Casimir Delavigne, Beranger, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and Chateaubriand—three of whom at least will live. We cannot be wrong in classing Chateaubriand among the poets, if not at their head. It is true he wrote in prose, but in prose more harmonious, musical and *cadencée*, than almost any verse in the language has displayed. And whatever might be the form which he adopted, his thoughts, his emotions, his subjects, and his mode of treating them, were all essentially and eminently poetical. What are 'Atala,' 'René,' 'Le dernier des Abencerrages,' 'Les Martyrs,' even 'Le Génie du Christianisme,' but poems? Even in the last of these he is far more the artist than the thinker. Every where and before every thing the temperament of the poet shines forth. He is a poet in his intense and genuine love of night, of moonlight, and of all nature; in his wild enjoyment of the primeval forest and the trackless desert: in his rare appreciation of the charms of a savage and solitary life; in his preference of ruins over cities, of sad memories over glowing prophecies; above all, in the profound and unaffected melancholy which tinted his whole life, and breathes through every page he ever wrote. Even his great work, though purposely an exposition and defence of Catholicism, is really only a delineation and a record of the emotions which Catholicism has excited in his individual soul. His religion, beautiful as it is, and firm as it appears to be, is the product not of thought but of feeling. It is not a conviction of the understanding, but an unreasoning sentiment of the heart. His mother and sister had died while he was wandering in a foreign land, and died, exhorting him to

be a Christian. 'Ces morts m'ont frappé,' he says. 'Je suis 'devenu Chrétien. J'ai pleuré et j'ai cru!'

Between Chateaubriand and Lamartine we can trace a strong family likeness. Whatever walk of life or literature they tried, the poet was every where predominant in both of them. They were both travellers, both diplomatists, both historians, both politicians. But the artist and the man of feeling clung to them through all. Before Lamartine was heard of in public life he had already established his position as beyond rivalry the first poet of his age and country, and this position he has never lost or changed in all his subsequent vagaries. He can never achieve any other reputation which will either eclipse or modify this original one. Wandering in the Holy Land, declaiming from the Tribune, painting his portrait-gallery of great men, chief governor of a wild nation at one of its wildest moments, accepting his fall with the same *naïve* simplicity with which he had accepted his elevation,—in every vicissitude we can see nothing but the lyrist; the man who interprets every thing and judges every thing not by logic but by sentiment—not as it satisfies his reason, but as it gratifies his fancy; who, though accident has made him a ruler, nothing can make into a statesman; and with whom to the last politics is not a science, but a taste.

A generation or two hence there can be no doubt, we think, that Lamartine will be remembered, not as the historian of one revolution, nor as the prominent figure in the foreground of another, but as the author of the 'Harmonies,' of the 'Meditations Poétiques,' and above all of 'Jocelyn.' French poetry is rarely poetical, according to our notions: these productions are eminently so. Their two most marked characteristics are exuberance and vagueness. M. de Lamartine's muse is one of the most fertile that ever inundated the world. It seems to him natural to sing. He is more a musical instrument than a musician. 'Harpe d'Éole,' says Vinet, 'il frémit, il vibre, il 'exhale des sons, il articule peu, et *son alphabet n'a guère que* '*des voyelles.*' He sings as the birds sing. To those who ask him, *Pourquoi chantais-tu?* he replies,

'Demande à Philomèle
Pourquoi, durant les nuits, sa douce voix se mêle
Au doux bruit des ruisseaux sous l'ombre roulant:
Je chantais, mes amis, comme l'homme respire,
Comme l'oiseau gémit, comme le vent soupire,
Comme l'eau murmure en coulant.'

Beautiful images, delicious fancies, fond languishing emotions, brilliant and exquisite expressions, are not scattered through his poetry—it is crowded with them in overflowing and cloying

abundance; they form its substance.* An imagination so rich, a sensibility so keen, a lyre so sweet, has seldom been seen in any land; never, we think, in France. But his undefined and evanescent mistiness is even more remarkable. There is a nebulous haze about his verses which, beautiful as it is, is often disappointing: it is sentiment and thought not yet condensed into ideas. In reading him we feel a sort of somnolent delight, as if we were basking in soft sunshine, floating over smooth waters, and cradled by the gentlest of all rippling waves.

'La poésie de Lamartine est une sublime berçeuse, une Dalila; elle a des impressions plutôt que des pensées; et l'impression est la pensée à l'état d'évanouissement. Que de fois, en lisant les *Méditations*, bercé pour ainsi dire par le vague des pensées, et par le vague de la mélodie, le lecteur sérieux se réveille en sursaut, et s'écrie dans le langage que lui a fourni le poète lui-même: "Non, non, brise à "jamais cette corde amollie!" Bien d'autres poëtes provoqueraient la

* One of the most beautiful passages in M. de Lamartine's works seems to us the following, where Jocelyn, after long solitude, opens his soul to the joys of society and friendship:—

'Je ne sens plus le poids du temps; le vol de l'heure
D'une aile égale et douce en s'écoulant m'effleure;
Je voudrais chaque soir que le jour avancé
Fût encore au matin à peine commencé;
Ou plutôt que le jour naisse ou meure dans l'ombre,
Que le ciel du vallon soit rayonnant ou sombre,
Que l'alouette chante ou non à mon réveil,
Mon cœur ne dépend plus d'un rayon de soleil,
De la saison qui fuit, du nuage qui passe;—
Son bonheur est à lui; toute heure, toute place,
Toute saison, tout ciel, sont bons quand on est deux:—
Qu'importe aux cœurs unis ce qui change autour d'eux?
L'un à l'autre ils se font leur temps, leur ciel, leur monde;
L'heure qui fuit revient plus pleine et plus féconde;
Leur cœur intarissable, et l'un à l'autre ouvert,
Leur est un firmament qui n'est jamais couvert.
Ils y plongent sans ombre, ils y lisent sans voile;
Un horizon nouveau sans cesse s'y dévoile;
Du mot de chaque ami le retentissement
Éveille au sein de l'autre un même sentiment,
La parole dont l'un révèle sa pensée
Sur les lèvres de l'autre est déjà commencée.
Dans cette autre soi-même, on tout va retentir,
On se regarde vivre, on s'écoute sentir; . . .
Dans sa vivante image on trouve son emblème;
On admire le monde à travers ce qu'on aime;
Et la vie, appuyée, appuyante tour à tour,
Est un fardeau sacré qu'on porte avec amour.'

même exclamation. Le charme des plus distingués n'est il pas très-souvent ce que l'Italien a expressivement appelé *morbidezza?* une douceur, une suavité maladive; je ne sais quoi d'amorti, de languissant et de fondu; quelque chose entre la pensée et le rêve, entre le néant et l'être; une voluptueuse défaillance de tous les éléments de la vie morale. Peut-on croire qu'une telle poésie ne soit pas malsaine? N'est-ce pas une chose bien dangereuse que cette mélancholie égoiste, cette personnalité attendrie, dont quelques-uns de nos plus charmants poëtes sont tout pénétrés? Et que peuvent ces molles réveries sinon nous désapprendre à vivre.'*

If want of masculine vigour and a healthy tone characterises nearly all Lamartine's poetry, it is not so with Beranger. He is always lively and charming, alike whether his topic is patriotic, amatory, or bacchantic. Generally simple, nearly always gay, sometimes bitterly sarcastic, he is always plain, easy, and manly; we wish we could say that he was always decent. He is only a *chansonnier*, but a chansonnier of unrivalled merit.†

'Jeté sur cette boule,
Laid, chétif et souffrant,

* Vinet, vol. ii. p. 150. We recommend to the perusal of the reader who would appreciate M. Vinet's peculiar style of criticism, generally most beautiful and just, his remarks on the argument of 'Jocelyn,' vol. ii. p. 180—189.

† 'Le Roi d'Yvetot,' written in 1813, is one of his prettiest and most characteristic songs:—

'Il était un roi d'Yvetot
Peu connu dans l'histoire,
Se levant tard, se couchant tôt,
Dormant fort bien sans gloire.

* * * *

'Il faisait ses quatre repas
Dans son palais de chaume,
Et sur un âne, pas à pas,
Parcourait son royaume.
Joyeux, simple, et croyant le bien,
Pour toute garde il n'avait rien
Qu'un chien.

'Il n'agrandit point ses états,
Fut un voisin commode,
Et, modèle des potentats,
Prit le plaisir pour code.
Ce n'est que quand il expira
Que le peuple qui l'enterra
Pleura.'

Etouffé dans la foule,
Faute d'être assez grand :
Une plainte touchante
De ma bouche sortit ;
Le bon Dieu me dit : Chante,
Chante, pauvre petit !—
Chanter, ou je m'abuse,
Est ma tache ici-bas.
Tous ceux qu'ainsi j'amuse,
Ne m'aimeront ils pas ?'

Unhappily, there are many of Beranger's *chansons* which are neither quotable nor readable. 'Je ne dirais, à leur propos,' observes M. Vinet, as justly as severely, 'qu'un seul mot. 'Faut-il quelque chose de moins que le puissance de l'habitude 'pour que nous puissions nous résoudre à classer parmi les 'œuvres littéraires, à mentionner parmi les créations dont 's'honore l'esprit humain, des chants dont les sujets sont 'bannis de la conversation des honnêtes gens ? Est-il permi 'dechanter ce qu'on n'oserait pas dire, et la rime est-elle le 'sauf-conduit de toutes les licenses ? . . . Dire le mal, *c'est une 'manière de le faire ;* et de mauvaises paroles, sur quelque air 'qu'on les chante, sont de mauvaises actions.'

Beranger has two or three characteristics which distinguish him from every other writer of his age and nation. One of these is the peculiar tone of his amatory verses. He treats and understands love as it was treated and understood in France before the publication of the 'Nouvelle Héloïse.' It is with him not a passion, scarcely a fancy, but a pleasure. He is never sentimental : all is gay, lively, piquant, pretty. Nothing is morbid, but, on the other hand, nothing is serious, in his representation of human tenderness. Again, patriotism, not passion, is the source of his inspiration. He is essentially, like Burns, the poet of the people ; he speaks their language, — he shares their feelings,— he gives utterance to their ideas and emotions. His style is wonderfully concise ; every word is well-chosen, every word is clear, and there never is a word too much. He owes, probably, much both of his popularity and his merit to the circumstance that he is an unlearned man, and knows no language or literature but his own. Certainly of all the French poets, he is the only one of whom we never tire, and whom it is never an effort to read.

In no particular of its literary life does the period we are considering present a greater contrast with its predecessor than in the astonishing number and still more startling quality of its romance writers and novelists. Of prose writers of fiction the

18th century produced only four* who survive or deserved to survive,—Le Sage, the Abbé Prevost, Rousseau, and Bernardin de St. Pierre; and each of these were satisfied with giving birth to one, or at most two works. 'Gil Blas,' 'Manon Lescaut,' 'La 'Nouvelle Héloïse,' and 'Paul et Virginie,' are all that they have really bequeathed to us. The 19th century, on the contrary, counts its novelists by the score, and their productions by the hundred. Not to mention Madame Cottin, Mlle. Sophia Gay, Alfred de Vigny, and others, who were moderate both as to quantity and quality, there is Madame de Staël, the true inheritor of the mantle of Rousseau, whose Delphine will live long, and whose Corinne can never die. There is Chateaubriand, whose fictions, however, are, as we have said, rather poems than romances. There is Victor Hugo, whose power of harassing delineation is almost as unequalled as his flagrant and exuberant abuse of it, and who in his 'Hans 'd'Island,' his 'Bug-Jargal,' and more than all in his 'Notre Dame 'de Paris,' has given us a painful example of the finest faculties pressed into the service of the falsest theory and the worst taste. There is Eugene Sue, whose 'Atar-gull,' 'Les Mystères de Paris,' and 'Mystères du Peuple,' have unhappily become notorious even here; whose conceptions and descriptions, powerful as they are, are regarded even among his own countrymen as having often transgressed the limits of permissible monstrosity. There are Balzac and Paul de Koch, Jules Janin, and others, of whose numerous romances it is hard to say whether we read them with most pain or admiration, as strange exhibitions of genius wallowing in the mire,—

> '. . . Of talents made
> Haply for high and pure designs,
> But oft, like Israel's incense, laid
> Upon unholy, earthly shrines.'

There is Alexander Dumas, with all his insane extravagance, perhaps the most readable of them all, whose marvellous fecundity resembles that of the rabbit or the Cochin-China fowl; a manufacturer rather than an artist; the stream of whose inspiration, though exhausted by the production of at least fifty volumes, dribbles on, still—a pump, no longer a fountain. Lastly, there is far the greatest of all since the author of 'Corinne,'—the lady who writes under the pseudonyme of George Sand,—one

* We can scarcely class Voltaire among novelists. His 'Nouvelles' were rather a series of satirical and philosophic tales, than romances. The author of 'Candide' must rank rather with the author of 'Tristram Shandy,' than as a novelist proper.

of the most prolific authors of the day; the sterling stamp of whose genius is attested not by the number or the beauty of her tales, their deep thought, their still deeper tenderness, or their polished and perfect style; but by that characteristic which seems to be the exclusive prerogative of the highest order of intellect, by the fact that the current of her thought has become purer, profounder, serener, as it has flowed on; that she has gradually worked herself free from all the turbid and unlicensed sensuality which disfigured her earlier productions, and that a manlier tone, a better taste, and a higher morality have grown upon her year by year. There is yet a wide gulf which separates her from what we should wish to see her, and what she might yet become; but the woman who has traversed the space which separates 'Consuelo,' and 'La petite Fadette,' from 'Leone Leoni' or 'Indiana,' need despair of no other progress.

But the fictitious literature of the age in France is marked by another feature far more distressing than its exuberance. It is diseased to its very core. Never before was so much talent perverted to such base uses. It is not only that the tone of sexual morality which it preaches is lax and low, that it expatiates with such complacency in equivocal positions and voluptuous delineations; that its whole tendency is to deaden the sense of duty and impair the vigour of the will; that everywhere *sentiment* is extolled and brought prominently forward while *principle* is ignored or thrust ignominiously into the background: of all this we have had examples before in literature far less morbid and less dangerous. It is that it addresses itself consciously and glaringly to palled appetites and distorted imaginations: that it proceeds on the assumption (which of course it thereby helps to realise) that all relish for what is chaste, simple, and serene is extinct in the hearts of its readers; and that recognising a demand for what is unnatural, extravagant, and bad, it sets to work to provide a supply without compunction and without stint. It is a banquet consisting solely of unwholesome stimulants and more unwholesome sweets. Each writer strives to surpass himself and to eclipse his rivals in the novelty and extravagance of the incidents which he heaps together; in his daring violations of every rule of taste, art, and morals; in his delineations of whatever can most startle, horrify, and shock. No situation is too grotesque, no combination too improbable, no picture too revolting, to be admitted. '*Cela émeut: cela fait éprouver une sensation*,' is the language of praise by which such writers are rewarded. Now, it is some inconceivable monster of iniquity, who passes in the world's eye as a saint, and receives the 'prize of virtue,' as in

'Atar-gull.' Now, it is some character utterly and desperately vicious, made interesting by some single virtue or some redeeming human affection, as in 'Le Roi l'amuse,' and 'Lucrecia Borgia' (which, however, are not novels, but dramas).* Now, it is some angel of purity brought up in a brothel and a cabaret, as in 'Les Mystères de Paris.' Now, it is some scene of prolonged and minutely pictured agony, as that of the priest hanging by the leaden spout from the turret of Notre-Dame, which slowly bends under him for many pages. And so on through a catalogue of monstrous, harrowing, unnatural conceptions, fitted for nothing, designed for nothing, but to rouse an exhausted fancy or goad a jaded sensuality.†

This deplorable malady in so important and influential a branch of literature may, we think, be traced to two specific causes: of course there must have been other predisposing ones to have allowed it to attain so advanced a stage. The first is, probably, the convulsions and catastrophes in which the writers passed their youth and received their mental impressions. They came into a world which was still palpitating with the excitement of the greatest social earthquake which humanity had ever undergone. As soon as their young minds began to open to the transactions which were going on around them, the achievements of their great Emperor brought every day some new marvel to stimulate the fancy and to feed enthusiasm. The first narratives which fascinated their childhood were the thrilling and horrible but true romances of the first Revolution and the Reign of Terror. Much of their after life has been passed in the midst of perpetual alarm and startling vicissitudes. Thus from their infancy they had lived upon excitement. Their education had been conducted in and by times in which the actual events of history beggared the creations of fiction. As it was with themselves, so it was with most of those whom they addressed. The attention which had been strained and wearied by the daily occurrences of that unquiet period, would flag over romances, unless those romances could serve up to them something more strange, more horrible, more sad, than what they had been ac-

* All these remarks, by the way, apply as forcibly to the modern French drama as to its romantic fictions.

† 'L'excès' (says M. de Mazade) 'devient le refuge du talent de peu de foi; l'observation émoussée et inhabile à ressaisir les vraies nuances de l'âme humaine, la gradation naturelle des sentimens, se jette à la poursuite d'un autre élément de succès, ramasse tout ce qui s'offre à elle de voluptés grossières à peindre, d'entrainemens effrénés à réproduire: elle contraste le goût des impuritès et de souillures.' (*De la Démocratie en Littérature.*)

customed to see with their own eyes, and to hear with their own ears. Fancy had to vie with fact, and to beat it out of the field; and those versed in the French annals of the last sixty years can imagine the seducing and demoralising character of such a desperate competition.

The other cause we believe to have been the *feuilleton*. Writers addressing a public who read them day by day, a chapter at a time, were obliged to sacrifice every other consideration to *effect*. They could not trust to the impression which would be left by the entire work; they could not wait for their meed of applause t'll the p rusal was completed. Each morning's repast must have its own attractive dish. The reader would not forgive a dull chapter to-day, in the hopes of an exciting one to-morrow; nor would he, reading piecemeal and in a *café*, be satisfied with those simple, modest, real merits which might have attracted and pleased him in a complete volume and at his own fireside. Hence novels thus issued required not only to be crowded with incidents and scenes, but to have those incidents and scenes of a particularly stimulating character. Now a great proportion of the novels and romances of our day in France appeared in the first instance in the columns of a daily newspaper.

We can conceive no system of publication so fatal to artistic perfection; and we regret deeply to have seen the introduction of something analogous in this country. Dickens and Thackeray have, in our judgment, much to answer for, both to the public and to their own fame, for having imported the custom of periodic fiction. We can understand the temptation to poor men or obscure men of a plan so pecuniarily advantageous. But we do not understand that men of unquestioned genius and established celebrity should be willing to expose either to the temptations and the dangers of so mischievous a habit. Already the injurious effects of it are traceable in both these admirable but faulty writers. It has made their best works inconsistent, incomplete, and disjointed. The defects to which it almost inevitably leads are especially observable in Mr. Dickens. There is scarcely one of his novels which is not spoiled by it in a way and to an extent which no *artist* of true and lofty ambition could endure. It has ruined his plots*, it has con-

* Even Bulwer, whose arrangement of his plots used to be so careful and admirable, has fallen a victim to this abominable importation. In 'My Novel,' which appeared month by month in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' the plot is singularly unartistic, clumsy, damaging to, and inconsistent with, the character of the production as a whole.

fused his characters, it has fatally aggravated his already excessive tendency to caricature. Its operation in him is peculiarly observable in this—that his *dramatis personæ* often turn out quite differently from what was intended on their first introduction, and foreboded by their first words and actions. His stories are begun upon a plan which is speedily abandoned as something more tempting or promising turns up. He often seems to write at random; his first chapters read like an uncertain prelude; and it is only when he chances to strike some rich or happy vein that the future tendency and conduct of the fiction is determined. There are few of his works in which the first half volume would not require to be rewritten to bring it into harmony with the master idea and key-note of the rest.

In one most important and significant respect the *tone* of French literature in the present century has undergone even a greater modification than its form and direction—in all, we mean, that relates to the religious sentiment. The prevalent spirit of the last age was that not of simple scepticism, but of hard, cold, aggressive infidelity. The unbelief of the men of that time was something more than a negation: it may be said to have amounted not only to a positive creed, but to an inspiring faith. Now, all this is changed; and without any close analysis of the difference, no one can pass from the study of Voltaire, Raynal, Diderot, Helvetius, and their collaborateurs, to the perusal of Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, Guizot, Lamartine, or even of George Sand, and not be conscious that they are breathing an altogether different atmosphere. It is not that *scepticism* has become extinct or unfashionable. It is not that these writers or their imitators are *believers*, in our sense of the word; scarcely one of them belongs to any sect, or would be owned by any church: but though a creed may be wanting, the religious sentiment is there. The poet felt it stirring in his soul; his muse was arid and cold without it;—the historian read indications of its undying vitality in every page of the world's annals;—the thinker, now that strife and passion had passed away, discerned how shallow, barren, and incomplete was the philosophy which sought to banish or deny it. But with the great majority of these writers, even those whose tone is reverential and devout, religion scarcely reaches a more definite form, or a firmer foundation, than a vague instinct, or a strong emotion; it is poetical, not theological; it is the result of impression, not of reflection or research. 'J'ai pleuré, 'et j'ai cru,' says Chateaubriand. 'J'aime: il faut que j'espère,' says Lamartine. The religion of this last great poet is a sort of type of that which pervades the better portion of the literary

life of France. It is an emotion of the heart — not the guide of life.

'L'élément moral' (says M. Vinet with great justice) 'qui tient si peu de place dans sa dogmatique, est le seul qui, transformant un fluide vague en un corps solide, puisse opérer, pour ainsi dire, le cristallisation du sentiment religieux. Toute religion où la conscience ne joue pas la rôle principal, n'est qu'une poésie ou un philosophème, et ne tarde pas à se perdre dans un panthéisme ouvert ou désavoué. C'est là qu'en definitive aboutit et s'abîme le Christianisme de Lamartine, parceque, dès le principe, sa religion n'est guère que de l'éblouissement et de l'extase. *Il est bien moins le serviteur que l'admirateur et le courtisan de Dieu.* Catholique dans les vieux temples, panthéiste dans les vieilles forêts, abondant tour à tour dans le sens des rationalistes et dans le sens des orthodoxes, Chrétien "parceque sa mère était Chrétienne," philosophe parceque son siècle est le dix-neuvième, acceptant les prophéties et renversant les miracles, sans prendre garde que les prophéties sont aussi des miracles; mais toujours, il faut l'avouer, ému de la beauté de Dieu, retentissant comme une lyre vivante au contact des merveilles de la création, repandant son cœur avec la simplicité de l'enfance et du génie devant l'Être invisible dont la pensée tout à la fois l'oppresse et le ravit, M. de Lamartine ne nous donne que "le sentiment "moral et religieux pris à cette région où tout ce qui s'élève à Dieu se "rencontre et se réunit, et non à celle où les specialités, les systemes "et les controverses divisent les cœurs et les intelligences." . . . Ne demandez donc pas les articles de son symbole; ramassez tout ce que vous pourrez de ces magnifiques images du néant de la vie, de la poésie des ruines, de l'éternelle jeunesse de la Nature, des mille voix de la Création, du concert des sphères, de l'immensité de Dieu, de la réunion promise dans son sein à ceux qui s'aimèrent ici-bas, ajoutez-y quelques allusions bibliques fort touchantes, et vous avez la religion de Jocelyn et de Lamartine. Riens de moins, mais aussi rien de plus; car en vain vous y chercherez l'élément vital, je ne dis pas du Christianisme, mais de toute religion née ailleurs que dans le cerveau de poëte, l'élément générateur de toute religion qui a exercé quelque empire sur les individus et sur les peuples; je veux dire l'élément de la Conscience, l'idée de la loi, de la responsibilité, du péché, de la satisfaction. Tout ce qui rende une religion sainte, tout ce qui l'élève au-dessus de la poésie, tout ce qui en fait autre chose qu'une manière de courtiser la divinité, tout ce qui lui donne un corps, un substance, une réalité, tout cela manque dans la religion *désossée* de Jocelyn.'

And, we may add, 'in the religion of Frenchmen of letters 'in the nineteenth century.' Still the improvement, as compared with the last age, is unquestionable. The feelings and convictions of rational devotion are not outraged as before at every turn: if there is not much more to satisfy, there is infinitely less to shock; and the gain that has been made good may be a step to further progress.

We must conclude this rapid enumeration of the principal distinctive features of the French literature of our day, by calling attention to one of the most obvious and striking — its exuberant, and what Burke would call, its *quadrumanous* activity. For one writer of the last century we have a score now. The pen is the sword of the age, which every one considers himself entitled to wear and to wield — often, no doubt, feebly enough; often clumsily; often in a bad cause. Hear the half comic, half bitter, complaint of M. Montegut in his sketch 'De 'la Vie littéraire depuis la Fin du Dix-huitième Siècle.'

'Aujourdhui, me disait on récemment, tout le monde écrit: 'on se fait hommes de lettres comme à d'autres époques on se 'faisait moine: c'est une maladie du temps. Ceux qui sont 'pauvres et qui cherchent à se créer une influence; ceux qui 'sont riches et qui cherchent à conserver leur prépondérance; les 'jeunes gens possédés de cet éternel désir de la gloire, et qui 'pour la conquérir, auraient jadis pris une épée ou commandé 'un navire; les aventuriers qui auraient autrefois passé les mers 'pour aller chercher l'imprévu ou la fortune; les condottieri 'toujours prêts à servir qui les paie, tous ceux-là se font hommes 'de lettres, écrivains, journalistes. Ainsi tous les désirs, toutes 'les ambitions intraitables du cœur humain se tournent pour 'trouver leur satisfaction du côté de la littérature: c'est la di- 'rection unique de tous les instincts bons ou mauvais des 'hommes de notre temps. Tous ces hommes n'écrivent pas 'parcequ'ils sont écrivains, mais parcequ'ils sont ambitieux, 'orgueilleux, ou cupides, ou bien encore affamés de renommée 'et de gloire. Cette carrière est, si nous pouvons nous exprimer 'ainsi, le déversoir unique de toutes les passions, de toutes les 'inquiétudes, de tous les désirs.'

Perhaps, of all the characteristics of the time, this tendency is not the least sad or sinister. A restlessness of spirit that knows not what it wants; an ignorance of self that knows not what it can do; a rebellion against wholesome restraints that shrinks alike from mental toil and mental discipline; a boyish vanity, that burns to gain the ear, and influence the feelings of the public without preparation and without capacity;—these are ill auguries for the peace and progress of the nation. Whence help and rescue are to come, we confess we do not see. It is hopeful to know that there still exist many Frenchmen keenly alive to the dangers and defects of their intellectual position, and courageous enough to analyse and stigmatise them.

ART. V. — 1. *Gulielmi Caorsin Rhodiorum Vicecancellarii obsidionis Rhodiæ urbis descriptio.* Ulm, 1496.

2. *Relation du Siège de Rhodes.* Par MARY DUPUIS.

3. *History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.* By Chevalier TAAFFE. London: 1852.

IN speaking of Rhodes in its historical connexion with the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, we naturally point to three sieges equally memorable. The first is the four years' siege which terminated in the conquest of the island by the Order, under Fulk de Villaret; the second is the subject of this article; and the third is that which is perhaps the best known of all, as resulting in their capitulation and loss of the island. The first may be said to have reawakened the fame and importance of Rhodes; and the last to have created that of Malta. Though no such obvious historical sequence can be said to flow from the second, inasmuch as it left the fortunes of the island in the hands in which it found them, it is richer in brilliant and suggestive details than either of the other two, as reported by contemporary historians. It occurred, moreover, at an epoch when the success of the defence was even of more importance to Europe than the actual possession of the place can be said to have been to Asia half a century later. Mahomet the Second, conqueror of Trebizond and Byzantium, was a more dangerous neighbour than any of his successors on the Turkish throne.

Whoever would entertain such conjecture of this small point of time as we can lend him, must be pleased to place himself under the guidance of two chroniclers who have led over the ground all subsequent historians of the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, from Bosio and the ingenious Abbé Vertot to the Chevalier Taaffe, the last knightly encomiast of his illustrious brethren. They are by name one William Caoursin, vice-chancellor and public orator of the Order for the time being, and one Mederic or Mary Dupuis, a French soldier (as we take it) of Auvergne. We shall also have the assistance of an anonymous artist, whose original sketches (and very original they are) were copied by the medium of woodcuts, and printed with Caoursin's book at Ulm in 1496.

Caoursin was not a native of Rhodes, as it has been the fashion to consider him, but of French Flanders: — 'Gallus 'Belga Duacius' — as he styles himself. Our readers may possibly agree that his assertion of his own nationality as a *brave Belge* is corroborated by the manner of his Comment-

aries. They are written in the true vein of a public orator; of a man who was always officially upon his legs, in days when 'orationes habitæ' were more exclusively the mark of the scholar, and more carefully conned and delivered than they are at present. The language is Latin, and such Latin as became the official mouthpiece and recorder of the great and Sovereign Order of St. John, the military bulwark of Christendom. There is a noble turgidity in the style; a tendency to run into sonorous and Euphuistic triplets of expression, in almost every sentence far outdoing in their grave and decorous volume Cæsar's thrasonical brag of 'I came, saw, and overcame.' Caoursin was a man to whom every subject naturally arranged itself under three heads. It would perhaps hardly be unfair to say that he viewed the world as composed of three principal ingredients, of which 'Magister Rhodi,' the Grand Master, was the first; 'Ordo perillustris,' the Order of St. John generally, was the second; and 'Guillelmus Caoursin, Rhodiorum Vice-Cancellarius,' the third. A touch of scholastic vanity was pardonable in the fifteenth century in a man whose historical commentary was not only written, but printed,—'quæ per orbem impressorum arte est divulgata.'

Mary Dupuis is a very different sort of personage. Though Vertot quotes him as an eye-witness of the siege, relying on the expression, 'selon que je peu voir a l'ueil,' it is clear that he does not pretend to be one of the garrison, but only to have visited Rhodes shortly afterwards. The name of Pierre Dupui, a knight of the Priory of Auvergne, is found in the archives of the Order as one of the actual defenders of Rhodes in 1480. Mary may have been some relative of his, and may have claimed kindred with Raymond Dupuy, the first Grand Master of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Modestly conscious of his own literary inferiority, as well as of his imperfect military science, he styles himself 'gros et rude de sens et de entendement,' but is ready, for the information of 'ceulx les quieulx en vouleront savoir des nouvelles,' to describe, as briefly and truly as possible, what he had seen with his own eyes no long time after the siege was raised, as well as what he had heard from many who were actually present and witnesses of all, both Knights of the Order and inhabitants of the town. Although his narrative is thus at second hand, it has every appearance of being as correct in details as Caoursin's; and they are both confirmed in the general outlines of the story by the despatch written by the Grand Master to the German Emperor within a month of the raising of the siege. This despatch is given at full length by the Chevalier Taaffe in his recent history: we are not aware that it was ever published before.

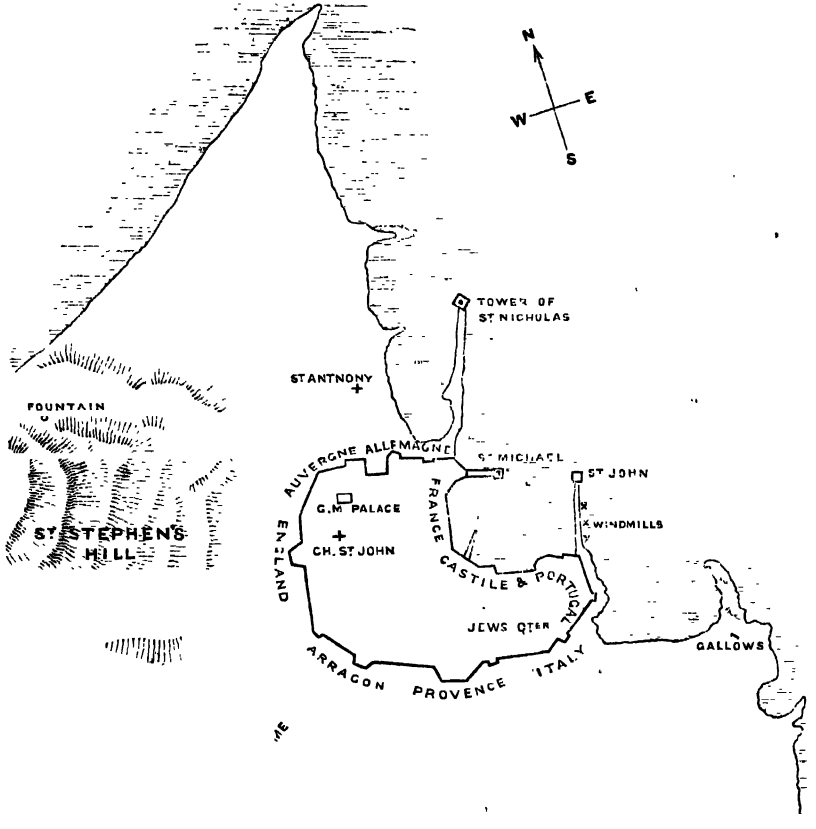
No one with a map in his hand or head can wonder that the Grand Turk should have been anxious to dislodge the Chevaliers of St. John from the island of Rhodes and its appurtenances. Tradition was in favour of the attempt. They had been driven back step by step from the Holy Land itself, from Cyprus, and along the coasts of Asia Minor. Convenience urged him on. They must have been in his eyes a pestilent set of warlike wasps, placed there on purpose to vex the Crescent and uplift the Cross: a hive of mischief-makers, who were always setting him and his neighbour, the Soldan of Egypt, by the ears, or at least perpetually intriguing for a tempora y neutrality with the one, more successfully to harass the other. Posted at the corner of the Ægean and the Levant, they commanded both seas, to the great actual detriment of his navy, whether warlike or commercial. Policy, moreover, made it imperative on him to clear them out of the way. His most cherished idea was an assault upon the Cross in its stronghold: nothing less than the subjugation of Italy itself. To attempt this with the Knights of Rhodes in his rear would have been dangerous if not impossible. He resolved to attack them simultaneously, and failed; only succeeding for a short time in the establishment of his power at Otranto. The conquest of Rhodes was reserved for his descendant, Solyman the Second, some forty years later.

The Chevalier Taaffe, with the feeling of an exile

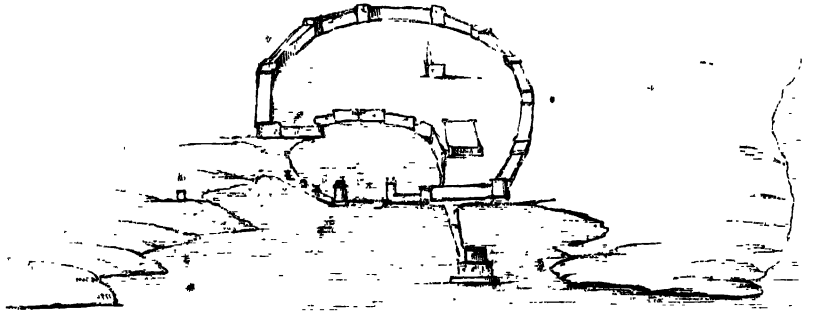
> 'che gema in duri stenti
> E de' perduti beni si rammenti . . .'

gives a picturesque description of Rhodes as it was under the sway of the Order. We quote it at length, as a bird's-eye view which may illustrate and give life and colour to the plan which we subjoin, for the clearer comprehension by our readers of the course of the siege:—

'—Rhodes, that lovely island,—rich, salubrious, and diversified with beautiful upland and lawns, remarkable from its quantities of roses, whence probably the name. On the top of a plain in the north-east stands its capital, also called Rhodes, as round as if drawn by a compass, nor unlike the full moon, when partly in light and partly shade—the side of the port, where the water bathes the foot of the houses, being in shade, and the city, the part in light, glittering like gold. And in the still mirror of the port (which itself is also a round) is the best place possible to observe the lunar reflexion at that ecstatic moment. Note, however, it is only one side (the eastern) has the sea and that commodious port, and three the land. This in its varieties had rising ground and hillocks, some of them close to the ramparts; and as far as the eye could reach, even from the steeple of St. John's, the view was loaded with orchards, gardens, villas, and most splendid forest-trees, and waving corn, and vineyards, and pastures full of well-bred cattle and fine fleet horses.'



Ground plan of Rhodes, with the posts of the languages of the Order.



Bird's-eye view after the old drawings of Rhodes

There is the Chevalier Taaffe in his original English. As corroborative evidence, let us put beside him Mary Dupuis, in his original French. He points out the military disadvantages implied in the picturesque beauty of the situation. Heavy ordnance had not been long enough in use in the fifteenth century to make the Knights aware of the life-and-death importance of fortifying and maintaining the hill of St. Stephen:—

'Laquelle ville de Rhodes est assise en beau pays et de belle venue de toutes pars bien murée et tourrée et à la muraille a XXII piex despesseur et plus; et y a de beaux fosses et larges tours à fons de cuve, et la ville la mieulx clause que je voix oncques qui soit au monde comme je croi, et est bien garnie d'artillerie tant grosse que petite et de tous autres batons, et y a toujours beaucoup de nobles et vaillans chevaliers et de toutes les nations du monde qui sont chacun jour prests et appareillés de combatre pour la foy Catholique et défendre la Chrétienté, et qui souvent courent en Turquie, et qui jamais n'ont paix aux Turcs et infidèles; devant laquelle ville et cité du couste de terre et comme au meillieu des deux bandes de la marine y a *une petite montaigne plate*, laquelle montaigne est nommée et appellée la montaigne Saint Estienne. Et tout autour de ladicte ville et cité de Rhodes a le plus beau lieu du monde pour mettre et pour poser siège. Car tout autour de ladicte ville y a beaucoup de jardins et tout plein de petites maisons églises et chapelles de Grecs, vieilles murailles tant de pierres et petis roches où l'on se peut mettre à couvert contre ceulx de la ville, en telle manière que se toute l'artillerie du monde estoit dedans la ville, elle ne saroit faire nul mal à ceulx qui sont dehors s'ils ne se approuchent près de la ville.'

Such was Rhodes in 1480—a rose of roses, well worth the plucking. More than a century and a half earlier, the Hospitallers had spent four years in conquering the island; and since that time they had lavished all their treasures, all their skill, and all their aristocratic taste, drawn from the richest countries of Europe, in perfecting its strength and beauty. Those who have seen what the Knights of St. John effected in less than three centuries on the barren rock of Malta, now proudly called by its indigenous patriots the 'fior del mondo,' will be able to imagine what an exquisite gem of the sea they created in Rhodes.

Caoursin the Vice-Chancellor, writing in the full pride of success, and possessed with an exemplary faith in the indestructibility of the tenure by which the Order of St. John then held this favoured island, chastises, in words which are barely represented by the following paraphrase, the presumptuous and unwarrantable insolence of the Turk in attempting to eject them. It should be remembered that he wrote at a time when the Turkish empire was divided against itself by the quarrel

between Mahomet's two sons, Bajazet and Zizim, if indeed Prince Zizim was not already a fugitive, living at Rhodes under the protection of the Order.

As the strength of the Grand Turk grew daily, so (says Caoursin) did his arrogance grow also. 'And whereas in the course of twenty-four years he had brought many of the neighbouring nations under his own yoke, he was thereby puffed up and took it hardly, that the city of Rhodes and the domain of the Knights of Jerusalem, bordering on his own so closely, should yet be free and independent of his empire. And, moreover at divers times he had sent four several expeditions to invade their territories and besiege their fortified places, but had reaped therefrom nothing but peril, loss, and shame. His soldiers had suffered fire and sword, stoning, hanging, and as many other varieties of capital punishment as the early Christian martyrs. In Caoursin's own exhaustive words — 'multi 'trucidati: palo suffixi: furcis suspensi: sagittis affecti: lapi-'dibusque cæsi: calamis perustis suffossi: gladiis objecti: mem-'bratim discerpti: perierunt.'

Amurath was succeeded by Mahomet in 1451; Constantinople taken in 1453; so that from whichever date we assume the 'curriculum' of twenty-four years to run, we must suppose the great struggle to have been meditated upon by one side, and prepared for by the other, for three years at least, if not five. The varied course of experiments in practical surgery on which Caoursin dwells with such unction took place chiefly between the years 1454 and 1467. Constantinople had not fallen six months before Mahomet demanded a yearly tribute from the Order, and ravaged their coasts on receiving a refusal. Except for two years, when he had signed a truce with them, in order to devote his whole power to the attack on Trebizond, there was a constant interchange of desultory hostilities. There was also from time to time an equally desultory interchange of negotiations; for he was politic enough to wish sincerely to keep the peace with his neighbours till his own time, and upon his own terms. As long as he was obliged to employ his chief strength against the Venetians, it was of the utmost convenience to him to keep the Rhodian wasps'-nest in good humour, both in respect of Cyprus and the more western possessions of the sovereign Republic. He was always ready to negotiate through his Greek agents ('greculi,' Caoursin calls them, in opposition to the Græci, or Greek citizens of Rhodes) a peace upon equal terms, *provided only* the Order would consent to pay him a trifle by way of tribute — 'dummodo quidpiam 'tributi titulo concederetur.' The chivalrous Hospitallers had

indeed at earlier periods of their history not held it incompatible with their knightly profession to pay something in the nature of a toll for the right of way to the Holy Sepulchre; but this was no precedent for the present demand, which was summarily refused as often as made. As it suited their master's plan to wait, the 'greculi' did not take umbrage at 'trifling modifica-'tions.' The offensive expression of *tribute* is struck out from the note of the Sultan's ambassador. Mahomet will conclude peace if presents and homage are promised in its place: — 'si 'tacitâ tributi conditione orator Hierosolimorum cum munus-'culis tribunal suum adeat.' This concession is refused by the Order with equal peremptoriness; much, no doubt, to the personal gratification of Caoursin, if he was public orator at the time. He would not have relished going on a tribute-bearing errand to the Court of the Grand Seignior. The last of these negotiations appears to have been about the year 1476; and on its failure, says our Vice-Chancellor, the rage of Mahomet was beyond bounds — 'rabidus hostis odium contra Rhodios inex-'orabile concepit.' There was a feeling on both sides that the struggle must come; it was only a question of time.

There were to be found at Constantinople many renegades more or less acquainted with the city of Rhodes, and ready enough to give or sell their information to the Grand Turk and his officers. Among those whose infamy is immortalised by the indignant Christian historians, was one Antonio Meligala (milk and honey), a ruined spendthrift of Rhodes, who hoped to retrieve his fortunes by conveying to Constantinople a plan of the fortifications of his native town, and entered into an intrigue with a certain 'Bassia greculus' of the ex-imperial family of the Palæologi, now in the Sultan's service. Meligala reaped no great harvest either of good or evil from his baseness, as he died before the expedition actually took place. Another of these convenient traitors was a 'greculus' of Eubœa, Demetrius Sophiano by name, who had deserted to the Turkish faith and fortunes on the capture of that island by Mahomet. His religion and himself were *adscripti glebæ*, and went with the land. These men represented the conquest of Rhodes as a simple and easy matter. The fortifications, they said, were old and crumbling; the defenders so few in number as to be unequal to manning the walls; the city badly victualled and ill provided in all respects; and if once invested, there was no hope of either succour or reinforcements being conveyed to the garrison, except from a long and almost impossible distance. Tempted by these alleged facilities, Palæologus Basha eagerly intrigued for, and thought himself fortunate to obtain, the command of the expedition against Rhodes.

The man on whom the Basha built the most absolute trust, and who promised to be most useful to him in more ways than one, was one George Trapant, otherwise called Master George, a German by birth, an engineer by profession, and by profession a renegade also, with a family at Constantinople. Twenty years earlier he had visited Rhodes, and carried away an accurate and scientific plan of the fortifications as they were at that time. He was a clever fellow,—'vir vafro subtilique 'ingenio,' says Caoursin; 'fort excellant homme en fait dar-'tillerie,' says Mary Dupuis; and a tall fellow of his hands—'ung 'homme grant, bien formé de tous ses membres et de belle 'stature, beau langagier, de grant entretenement, et homme fort 'malicieux à la veoir et oyr parler.' For his various useful qualities he was well known to the Sultan himself; and, as may be imagined, was in high favour. Men who, like Mahomet the Second, are destined to conquer two empires, twelve kingdoms, and three hundred cities within thirty years, must needs have a keen eye for such merits as those of Master George.

If the Grand Turk had his spies and informants, the Knights had theirs in like manner. They probably kept pace with all that was growing into form at Constantinople as accurately as he did with the statistics of Rhodes; and they girded themselves up with silent energy to meet the Ottomite preparation whenever it should make for their island. The warning of *Proximus ardet Ucalegon* had been repeated too often and too loudly in the fate of Constantinople, Trebizond, the Negropont, and Greece, to allow any excuse for negligence, or any flattering hope that the struggle would be less than desperate. And if ever the Order had a Head equal to such a situation, it possessed one now, in Peter D'Aubusson, the thirty-ninth Grand Master.

The family of D'Aubusson, a noble house of Auvergne, had not been unknown to French history since the ninth century, during which the first Viscount of the name was created. Some of its representatives were remarkable as zealous Crusaders, others as magnificent patrons of the gentle Troubadours; some destroyed monasteries, others rebuilt and newly endowed them. One of them was the object of the Church's wrath even after his death; for being unfortunately killed in the act of pillaging ecclesiastical property, he died *ipso facto* excommunicated: insomuch that a lenient abbot, who gave him Christian burial within his monastery, was reprimanded in due form by the Bishop of Limoges, his indignant superior. Peter D'Aubusson himself had rendered his Order important services both in a civil and a military capacity, and achieved an European reputation, long before he was called to the supreme authority. We hear of

him in 1456 as ambassador from the Order to the Court of France and Burgundy, from which he succeeded in obtaining large sums of money in aid of the defences of Rhodes. The importance of these subsidies was testified by the engraving of the arms of Burgundy on the tower of St. Nicholas, which was built with the gold of Duke Philip. Most of the repairs and extensions of the fortifications in Rhodes itself, and the other islands of the Order, were executed under the advice and immediate superintendence of D'Aubusson as surveyor-general. On the invasion of the Negropont by Mahomet, in 1470, D'Aubusson commanded in person the forces sent to the aid of the Venetians; and though he could not enable them to maintain that island, he did them better service in the way of reprisals than the generals and admirals of the Republic were able or willing to carry out for themselves. He was Grand Prior of the Language of Auvergne, and *de facto* the first man of the Order, for some years during the mastership of Ursini, on whose death in 1476 he was unanimously elected Grand Master, at the age of fifty-three.

On attaining this rank, he carried on his fortifications more vigorously than ever; stored his magazines with provisions and ammunitions; summoned all the knights who were absent in the various countries of Europe to repair to the head-quarters of their Order; and while temporising with the Sultan, concluded treaties with the Soldan of Egypt and the King of Tunis, so as to have only one Mahometan enemy to face. The Order placed the most perfect trust in his ability, and followed his orders with enthusiasm, as if he were 'divino instinctu 'edoctus.' A similar spirit was awakened outside of the Order; besides the knights, and the free lances paid by them, many noble gentlemen flocked to Rhodes with their retainers to take part in so stirring and illustrious a game. Before the storm burst, everything, says Caoursin,—'nutu Dei et magistri operâ'—was made ready for resisting it.

In the winter of 1479-80, Palæologus Basha executed with a few ships a reconnoissance on the coasts of Rhodes, ravaged the island of Tilo (Telos), and even attempted to take by a *coup de main* the fortress of that name. Thence he sailed to Physco (Marmorice), a port of Lycia, twenty miles distant from Rhodes, which he had appointed as the rendezvous of his expedition. The bulk of the army marched across Asia Minor, while the heavy artillery was sent round from Constantinople by sea. All the Turkish ports were strictly shut, lest any word of the approach or of the actual power of his armament should reach Rhodes before him.

Towards the end of April the main fleet, of a hundred sail or more, was descried by the watchman on the western tower of St. Stephen's hill, passing eastward between Rhodes and the mainland. Notice was sent to all the detached garrisons; and the inhabitants of the country were collected within the towns, after doing the last towards provisioning themselves by reaping the barley, and carrying in the still unripe wheat, which they pulled up by hand, roots and all.

On the 23rd of May (the tenth before the calends of June of the year of the Incarnation of the Word of the Lord 1480, as Caoursin majestically hath it), the Turkish Armada sailed across from Physco to Rhodes. Spreading their enormous line round all parts of the coast, they overcame all possible opposition to their landing. They concentrated on St. Stephen's hill (north-west of the city), and while part of their transports returned to Physco to bring across the remainder of the land forces, disembarked their artillery where the stream runs down to the sea from the hill, which covered them from the sight of the town. A party, advancing too boldly to reconnoitre the fortifications, was cut off by a sally of the besieged, under the command of the Grand Master's brother, Viscount de Monteil, and routed with great slaughter. One of the knights was killed, and his head carried off on a lance. This day saw the last of the second renegade, Dimitri Sophiano. Meligala had died without even a distant view of the land of promise, which he had left as a ruined man, and hoped to reenter in the triumph of a successful traitor. Sophiano was ridden down and trampled to death in this first encounter, being unable to rise, when once fallen, from the weight of his armour. *Sic vos non vobis* is often as applicable to the industry of traitors as to that of the silly sheep or the busy bee.

The actual siege commenced on the following day by an attack on the Tower of St. Nicholas, which stands at the extremity of a mole about 400 yards long, to the north of the great harbour, of which it commands and protects the entrance. Tradition varies in assigning a site to the celebrated Colossus, between the positions of the towers of St. Nicholas, St. John, and St. Michael; and some authorities are disposed to place it farther inland, on the line of the innermost mole, or even on the quay of the city. As a prominent and useful landmark, it would appear most appropriately fixed on the site of St. Nicholas, where the present lighthouse stands, and where the sailor from the Levant, steering by the stars for the port of Rhodes or the passage between the island and the coast of Asia, would soonest catch through the sea-haze of the morning the sun-beams

reflected back towards the East from the placid face of the 'gigantic King of Day.'

Three great bombards were placed by the Turks in the gardens of St. Anthony's Church, to play on the mole and tower. Other batteries were erected in the same gardens, fronting the boulevard of the Grand Master's palace. The Knights lost no time in planting a battery in the gardens of Auvergne, inside the walls, which flanked the Turkish position, and did them 'grant mal et vexation' before they could complete their *mantelets* and earthworks, and bring their own cannon into play.

When the bombardment of the tower had commenced in real earnest, one morning very early the sentinels on the boulevard of the palace of 'Mon Seigneur le Maistre' see a single figure in a suppliant posture on the other side of the ditch, anxious to enter into a parley. It is a deserter from the enemy, who would fain be taken into the town. He is drawn up by a rope, brought before D'Aubusson, and strictly questioned. His name is Master George. 'The perfidious Ger-'man, without changing colour, and with that air of sincerity 'which peculiarly distinguishes his nation,' says Monsieur L'Abbé Vertot (with a graceful glance at the solid *bieder Deutsch* temperament), said that he had deserted for the true love and zeal he bore towards the Christian faith, and from the remorse he felt for ever having erred against it. On the faith of these assertions he was amiably received and made welcome. When questioned concerning the strength of the enemy, he made answer (says Mary Dupuis), 'moult prudemment et moult 'saigement, ainsi comment ung homme lequel est bien conduit 'et moult bien introduit et advise, et qui bien savoit parler.' He did not follow the fashion of good Captain Parolles under somewhat similar circumstances, and seek to curry favour by depreciating the strength or bravery of the besieging forces; nor again, as far as we know, did he exaggerate their power. He reported them as amounting to a hundred and seventy thousand, or thereabouts, of all manners and conditions. He enlarged on the weight of their ordnance, and spoke especially of sixteen enormous bombards, twenty-two feet in length, and with sixteen inches thickness of metal, which threw stone balls of nine to eleven palms in circumference; six mortars of even greater calibre; besides a large quantity of smaller artillery—'plus petis 'batons à feu.'

Although Master George was welcomed with such joy as should be felt over a repentant sinner, he was not regarded with implicit confidence. Some were prepossessed by his honest

German bearing, and inclined to put full trust in his statements. Others mistrusted his looks; and there were those who went so far as to say that they knew him of old as an unprincipled adventurer, and had since heard of his renouncing the Christian religion. It was not long before the besieged were affected with mysterious warnings in the shape of letters tied, as the fashion of those days was, to arrows, and shot into the town, bidding them 'beware of Master George.' Whether these missives came from real friends serving perforce in the enemy's camp; whether they were a super-subtle device of the Basha's to recommend his emissary by affecting to discredit him; or whether George was a *bonâ fide* deserter, and these warnings were simply to prevent his being received as such; were questions which puzzled not a little the Council of the Order. In return for his frankness he was permitted to go at large, but under a body-guard of six soldiers, charged, on pain of death, not to let him out from their sight either day or night.

On the last day of May began the bombardment of the town itself. Enormous stone balls came flying through the air in all directions; without, however, effecting so great actual harm as they excited fear. Whatever they fell upon they ground to powder; but being of good solid stone, not stuffed with villanous saltpetre or other explosive compounds, they lay harmless where they had fallen, instead of carrying death in all directions, like the more murderous shrapnels of later days. D'Aubusson's despatch does indeed mention balls of fire and burning arrows as shot into the town; but not in such a tone as to induce the belief of their being very formidable. One of the huge stone bullets was afterwards shown to Mary Dupuis, which had fallen through the vaulted roof of the refectory in the Grand Master's Palace, shivered two marble pillars by which the roof was supported of greater thickness than two men could embrace, plunged through the stone floor into the cellar, where, after ingloriously spilling a hogshead of wine ('*et le vin perdu*,' says, with simple regret, the genial soldier of Auvergne), it half buried itself in the ground.

All this time the bombardment of St. Nicholas was steadily carried on. For fifteen days the three great cannons near the Church of St. Anthony played upon it across the water; not indeed as rapidly as modern artillery, but with sure effect, if slow. The cumulative Caoursin describes, with an appropriate volume of eloquence, the process of attack. 'Arcem aggreditur, 'quatit, oppugnat, jactuque trecentorum lapidum spericorum 'diruit.' Seven shots a day (if *jactus* refer, as it should, to the

number of balls shot at the target, and not only to those which hit it) seem to have been the full allowance of discharges practicable with the artillery of the period. At the end of this time the western or landward face of the tower was all in ruins, and the masonry lying in a confused heap at its base; while the eastern or seaward face bore no marks of the bombardment. The post appeared scarcely tenable; but such was its importance, as commanding the harbour, that the Grand Master was resolved to defend it to the last. He threw into the tower a strong reinforcement of picked men, cast up defences along the mole of stone, timber, barrels of earth, with small batteries at convenient points, and covered as well as might be the approach to the mole itself. In the small harbour westward of the mole he sank beams stuffed with spikenails, to prevent the enemy from wading across where the water was shallow, and moored alongside the tower a large number of boats laden with combustibles, to set fire to any ships that might attempt to land a storming party from the deeper sea. The garrison of the little fort kept a good guard both day and night, as they had need, in anxious and unremitting expectation of the assault; or, as their public orator expresses it,—'Fiunt vigiliæ, postulaturque hostium invasio.'

They had not long to wait for the acceptance of their challenge. As the morning star rose upon the 9th of June, and the breeze from the west rose gently with it, a large squadron of ships, gallies, and smaller vessels weighed from under St. Stephen's Hill, rounded the extreme northern headland and the point (*saburræ promontorium*) where the vessels of the port of Rhodes took in or discharged ballast, and made straight for the tower on the mole. On coming within a certain distance, they set up a horrible noise,—'en criant, et en invocant leur Mahon,' beating cymbals and ghitterns, yelling all at once, and firing cannons and bombards—'qu'il sembloit que le ciel deust venir 'abas:' so that it was a wonderful and a fearful thing to hear them come on. They attacked with fury both the breach and the mole, besides attempting to scale the seaward face of the tower; but they were received with equal fury by the defenders, foremost among whom was the Grand Master in person. Hand to hand, and foot to foot, stood the Cross and the Crescent upon the site of the Pagan image, the day of whose worship had gone by: heavy ordnance and smaller artillery raining upon both alike in the *mêlée;* battle-axe meeting scimetar, lances splintering, arrows snapping; stones crashing down upon breaking ladders; hostile gallies entangling their tackle and oars; fire-ships flaring, and sheets flapping in the wind; bloody corpses floating; wounded men swimming or sinking: till at last the Crescent

gave way, and, not without a loss of 700, 'les mauldis Turcs et 'Infideles sen alerent et retournerent pour ceste fois tout 'camus et esbahis.' Dupuis' words, implying the absolute disgust and bewilderment of the besiegers at their first experience of the desperate nature of the resistance which would be offered to them, are perhaps less elegant than descriptive.

After repelling this attack, the Grand Master rode in triumphant procession to render thanks to Our Blessed Lady of Mount Philerme, whose miraculous image had been brought for safety within the walls before the siege, and was enshrined for the nonce within a little *Greek* chapel near the Castle. It would seem that the rights and duties of the Greek and Latin Churches were not the subjects of such strict definition, or such jealous separation, in the fifteenth century, as they have been since; if the graven image of the Virgin (the Palladium of Rhodes) was placed by D'Aubusson (already the pillar of the Catholic Faith in the East, and subsequently a cardinal of the Church of Rome,) within a 'petite eglise des Grecs,' and received by them with due observance and gratitude.

The Basha, greatly disappointed at the failure of this attack on St. Nicholas, battered the fortifications from all sides, with the view of harassing the besieged by drawing their attention to all points at once, and discovering the weakest and most assailable part of the walls. The bastions of Auvergne, on which his chief batteries had hitherto been playing, proved so thick and so sound, that the balls either rebounded from the surface, or stuck in them without doing much damage. Other portions might be found of weaker material, or even crumbling in decay, as his spies had led him to expect. On the night following the attempt to storm the tower of St. Nicholas, a noise is heard by those within the city, as of men hauling along heavy weights—'onera 'subeuntium.' The enemy are dragging their heavy battering engines round to the southern side of the city, against the Jews' quarter and the portion of wall defended by the Knights of Italy. Here they erect a battery of eight of the pieces which throw the huge stone balls. Another of these is mounted near the base of the mole which points due north (and on the head of which stand the gallows for state criminals), to batter the windmills and the tower upon the inner mole. This is the tower of St. John, which commands the entrance to the harbour on the southern side, as fully as St. Nicholas does upon the north. The walls in front of the Jews' quarter are full twenty-eight feet in thickness; but they are not strong enough to resist the ordnance which has been brought against them, and very serious results of the battering soon become visible.

The power and effect of such engines had been hitherto unknown. Knights and experienced soldiers of every Christian country and nation declare they have never seen the like. 'Georgius profuga' reiterates the assurance, like a consoling friend and skilled engineer as he is, that there are none such in the world. The very recoil of the mortars on their carriages, which have been fixed by piles driven deep into the ground, shakes the city like an earthquake. The garrisons of Castel Lango, (Cos), a hundred miles to the west of Rhodes, and Castel Rosso, an equal distance to the east, heard clearly the thundering vibrations of these terrible engines, as they bombarded day after day the central stronghold of the Order.

It is quite clear that, sooner or later, the walls must give way before this ceaseless hammering. D'Aubusson and his knights, however, are not to be disheartened. Whenever the walls are breached by day, the gap is repaired during the night with beams, stones, barrels of earth, clay, faggots, and every kind of extemporised material. The buildings in the 'pomœrium,' or open space behind the walls, in the Jews' quarter, are thrown down; an inner ditch is dug, and a fresh rampart thrown up behind it. It was pleasant, say the historians, to see with what a will the whole population set to work, in execution of the orders of their great Captain. Men, women, children,—none held back; and there was need for all. Not even the Grand Master himself (says the admiring orator, in a torrent of triplets), or the Bailiffs and Priors of the Order ('non Magister, non Bajulivi, non 'Priores'); not the knights, the natives, or the merchants of Rhodes ('non milites, non cives, non negotiatores'); nor the women, whether mothers, wives, or maidens ('non matronæ, non 'nuptæ, non virgines, operæ vacant'), abstain from labour. They carry on their shoulders stone, mould, and lime, to fill up the ramparts, and throw in the most precious materials for the benefit of the common weal ('auro, argento supellectili non 'parcitur, ut publicæ saluti'). This work, besides physical labour, involved considerable danger. The Basha was not slow to perceive the Penelopean skill of the garrison in undoing by night the progress his batteries had made during the day. While taking his evening rounds, he bethought himself of ordering the cannon to be loaded and pointed afresh; and, as soon as he judged the defenders were busied in repairing the wall during the dark, opened a deadly fire upon them. From the hill of St. Stephen and the other eminences round the town, he kept up a constant fire upon the interior night and day with his guns of longest range; so that no house was safe for a moment. As these shots were aimed at the more crowded portions of the

city, D'Aubusson quartered all the women, children, and infirm persons under the shelter of large sheds, built for the purpose close under the walls, where they would be most out of view and out of range. Active and quicksighted men, Caoursin tells us, could in the daytime see the huge bullets falling through the air, and spring out of the way. At night they took refuge where they best could: some in vaults, ovens, and underground cellars; some in the deepest porches, or behind the thickest doors; some in the churches,—snatched such rest as they were able ('trepidum somnum carpebant.') They wondered, after all, to see how few were actually struck by the balls. The cattle which had been collected in the city were, as it happened, the chief sufferers. The balls were obviously turned aside by a special intervention of superhuman power—('prepeditæ non 'ambigo orationibus quæ Deo ejusque genetrici Mariæ Virgini 'intemeratæ et beato Joanni baptistæ fiebant.') 'For, indeed, (says Dupuis,) 'all the people of the town, knights of great and 'small estate, men, women, and children, were all thoroughly 'confessed and repentant of their sins, and were all well-dis-'posed as good Christians, and as expecting death from day to 'day and hour to hour, and were often in the churches at their 'prayers and devotions, praying to God devoutly that He would 'save them and the town, and defend them from the hand of 'the false Turkish dogs who thus worried them from day to day and from hour to hour without respite. In brief, it was 'then a fair and honourable sight to see the fair prayers and 'devotions of all the people, as well as the great diligence which 'they made night and day to fortify their town, and the great 'goodwill and courage which they had to sustain the Christian 'Faith.'

Misach Palæologus Basha was not imbued with such chivalric feelings towards his opponents as are attributed to the great Sultan Saladin in regard of Richard Cœur de Lion. He may have thought it unbecoming in a lieutenant to indulge in those luxuries of conscience which are so graceful in a sovereign captain. Knowing how much of the defence rested on the personal skill and valour of the Grand Master, he made various attempts to poison or assassinate him by means of spies, who came into the town as professed deserters and converts to Christianity. None of his emissaries succeeded. One, being found 'variable 'in his language' on examination, was tortured, made a full confession, and suffered capital punishment, of some kind or other: for the accounts vary, whether he was torn in pieces by the angry mob, drowned like a dog with a stone round his neck, or beheaded like a better man. All who entered Rhodes

during the siege in the doubtful character of catechumenical deserters (some sixty in all) were put under a strong guard, and afterwards sent by D'Aubusson to Rome, to be welcomed as true converts, or treated as incorrigible infidels and renegades, according to the infallible wisdom and pleasure of the Holy See.

The approaches of the besiegers were now very close to the works of the Jews' quarter and the post of Italy. They had even begun to fill up the ditch with stones and rubbish, when a successful sortie of fifty picked men drove them back and destroyed their works. Ten Turks' heads were brought back into the town in triumph, and planted on lances at various points of the walls—('de quoy les gens de la ville furent bien aises de 'ladicte vaillance').

At the same time that matters were becoming so critical on the southern side, a fresh attack upon the Tower of St. Nicholas was in preparation. The Basha's engineers had constructed a bridge of boats and pontoons on the opposite side of the ancient harbour, between St. Nicholas and the Church of St. Anthony. It was long enough to reach across to the mole, wide and strong enough to carry six men abreast, and well sheltered with bulwarks and defences on both sides. Under cover of the night an anchor was let down into the sea close to the foot of the tower, by the aid of which the bridge was to be warped across. Fortunately this was observed; and a certain sailor, who knew his trade, and saw the importance of the manœuvre ('nauta quidam rerum 'maritimarum non ignarus') took advantage of the darkness to dive to the anchor, and cut the cable. Leaving the cable loosely tied to a stone, he carried off the anchor into the town as a trophy. For this gallant exploit he was liberally rewarded '(aureo munere'), by the Grand Master, and returned merrily among the cheers of his companions ('gaudens comitum plausu') to his post on the mole. History preserves his name as Jervas Rogers of England. We cannot help hopelessly wondering, even at this distance of time, in what particular form of entertainment the gallant British tar expended the *aureum munus.* A report of such trivial details was below the pomp of a public orator, and the dignity of a historian; but it is safe to assert that the *plausus comitum,* the cheers of Jervas Rogers's comrades, did not leave their throats absolutely dry,—that the gold was melted with the same free and careless grace with which it was won; and that the British sailor of the Siege of Rhodes exhibited, in some form or other, that open-handed and jolly liberality which distinguishes him now, and distinguished him even in those earlier days, when Chaucer said of his rough and ready fellow-pilgrim, the Shipman of Dartmouth:—

'But certainly he was *a good felawe.*'

When the Turks perceived the loss of their anchor by the slackness of the cable, they resolved to tow the bridge across by their boats, and attack the mole simultaneously with thirty gallies from the sea side. Bombards and ammunition were shipped on their heavier barges, in readiness to establish a battery against the town and harbour as soon as the mole should be taken. D'Aubusson's chief anxiety was lest they should attempt to storm St. Nicholas and the breach on the southern side at the same time: in which case their overpowering numbers would have told with great effect against the harassed and divided garrison. It is by the bye a matter of regret that there exist no elements of calculation by which we can even approach to the actual number of fighting men within the walls. Taaffe points out some reasons for assuming the knights and brothers of the Order not to have exceeded a thousand; but there are no data with regard to the free lances and volunteers from all parts of Europe, or even the Rhodian citizens, who stood by their side in this quarrel.

About midnight of the 19th June (and a rough dark night it was says Caoursin), the bridge and the gallies got under weigh in dead silence, until they came close upon the mole, when there rose of a sudden more terrible shouts and noises than in the former attack. The knights were not taken by surprise, for they had been anxiously listening (arrectis auribus) and peering through the darkness; and as the enemy leapt yelling on shore received them at the sword's point, and with volleys of artillery and showers of stones. Hand to hand again they dispute the mole and the tower, from midnight until morning, fighting on both sides with the most desperate bravery. A constant stream of the Basha's soldiery keeps pouring in across the water to take the places of the numbers that are slain; till the dawn permits the artillery of the town to take a more careful aim at the bridge, which is soon broken down and sunk. Some of the Turkish gallies are swamped or set on fire. Again the whole sea is covered with bloody corpses or drowning men; and at last, not before ten o'clock in the morning, the attack is given up in despair, the signal made for a retreat, and readily obeyed by such as are able. Corpses blazing with gold and silver float about or are tossed up by the surf upon the mole, for full three days after; and are, as occasion serves, despoiled by the besieged, not a little to their advantage,—'non parum commodi.' Deserters report the Basha to have lost in this assault above 2,500 men, and many of his best officers. Of the knightly defenders of the mole there were eleven or twelve killed, but a great many wounded. The Grand Master rode again in solemn procession to

offer praise and thanksgiving to God and Our Lady of Philerme, and to St. John the Baptist; while the Basha shut himself up in his pavilion for three days, in great grief for the loss of his bravest soldiers and the failure of his plans; eating his heart in rage and silence, because even after breaching the tower so severely, he was unable to take it by storm.

What occurred shortly afterwards was not calculated to soothe his temper.

The 24th of June was the Feast of St. John, the Patron Saint of the Order and of the city of Rhodes. On the eve of this festival the knights, in accordance with their annual custom, lighted great bonfires upon the towers, belfries, and other high places of the city. The general illumination excited the curiosity of the hostile soldiery, who came up close to the ditch to see what was in hand. All the cannons of the city had been loaded to fire a simultaneous salute in honour of their patron; and they saluted him with such success that 300 of the enemy were left dead beyond the ditch after that single discharge.

The ill success of the second attack on St. Nicholas induced the Turkish general to devote himself more entirely to breaching in due form the southern side of the walls. Constructing his approaches with greater precaution and science than before, he had now brought them, under shelter of mantelets, hurdles, and other defences, right up to the ditch, which he was gradually filling up with rubbish. 'Precellentissimus princeps noster' Grand Master D'Aubusson called a council of war to debate upon the best plan of defence. There were present in council (such was the need of aid and advice) not only the worshipful bailiffs, preceptors, priors, and brethren of the Order, and the noble gentlemen who came as volunteers from the west, but citizens of Rhodes, crafty merchants, 'negotiatores prudentiâ 'pollentes' — and shifty Grecks — 'Græci quoque ingenio 'prædíti.' At the suggestion of some disciple of Archimedes, a machine is raised for casting large stones into the works of the enemy, so as to break in and fill up their covered ways — 'et 'tousjours,' says Dupuis, 'y demouroit quelque ung Turc mort 'dessoubs' — some improvident Turkish sapper, whose destiny it was to be thus ground to powder. This machine is in stern irony termed the Tribute, as being all the '*quidpiam tributi* '*titulo*,' all the answer the Knights will make to the Sultan's arrogant demand. It is resolved at the same time to countermine the breach. Through this passage the stones and rubbish with which the Turks are filling up the ditch, are conveyed into the town, and used to build up the inner rampart already mentioned. This work is carried across in a curve from one part of the walls

to another, so as to intercept and embrace the weakest points, and is in fact a strong stockade, of two spans or eighteen inches thickness, made with piles stoutly driven in, and branches interwoven and strengthened with mud, stones, and mortar. All kinds of combustibles are prepared for use upon the storming of the breach; casks of pitch and sulphur, which will be poured down hot; bags charged with gunpowder and iron nails, and other such devices as delighted the intelligent Caoursin with their ingenuity — 'delectabant conspicientes virorum ingenia, 'quæ remedia excogitabant ac pandebant.' It was thought advisable even to consult the professional experience of Master George upon some points of defence, and in regard of the general chances of the siege. The strict surveillance over him had never been relaxed; and the mysterious arrows bidding the Order beware of him were still shot ever and anon into the town. On mounting the walls his manner of talk was not consoling, as he pointed to the breaches already made as a confirmation of his first assertion that no wall in the world could withstand such powerful artillery. The practical proof of his talents was even more disheartening than his theory. Either from treachery or incapacity he erected batteries at the weakest points, and by drawing the fire of the enemy upon them caused considerable damage. It is soon whispered about that he does not abstain from uttering open insolence (procacia verba) in his conversation touching the fate of the town. Becoming more and more an object of suspicion he is subjected to a searching general scrutiny, and, on prevarication, to the torture. Under this *ultima ratio* of cross-examination he becomes consistent enough, and confesses himself a spy, renegade, and traitor, sent into the city of Rhodes by his patron the Turk to betray it, as he had already betrayed many others. The Grand Master (it is said) was still anxious to preserve him alive, as a man 'fort espert et savant en toutes choses,' but was obliged to execute summary justice upon him, for the satisfaction and encouragement of the indignant population. He was hung in an open space of the town, in full sight of an applauding multitude. There is a woodcut representing the closing scene of his mysterious story. A tall cross, and a stout gallows, are erected 'in propatulo.' Three figures form the centre of the composition, and are the points of interest to the crowd in front. The uppermost on the fatal ladder is the minister of justice; below him, hand-cuffed, noosed, and ready to be launched into air, is unlucky Master George; and at the foot of the ladder stands the Confessor, eagerly holding up the crucifix to the penitent or impenitent sinner. The title of the woodcut explains the scene in simple but questionable Latin — GEORGIUS FIT SUSPENSUS.

So died the last of the triumvirate of renegades who, according to Caoursin, had been the chief agents and promoters of this expedition. To him, too, the wheel had come full circle; the engineer had been hoisted with the petard of his own roguery. The evidence of Master George's guilt, consisting of his prevarications, his 'procacia verba,' his injudicious artillery practice, and his confession under torture, was strong enough to hang any man in those days. There can be no doubt that the stern scrutiny of the rack and thumb-screw did in many cases elicit the truth and the whole truth, if in many others it fell far short, or went far beyond. In this instance it is clear that the result was substantially true. If D'Aubusson did wish to spare Master George's life, it was more in the hope of making his expertness and science of use, and allowing him to pay the ransom of a double treason towards his old employers, than from any scruples as to the justice of his self-condemnation. It may be that Master George was too high-spirited a traitor or too honest a Mussulman to accept such a composition; it may be (as it must often have been the result of that indiscriminating ordeal) that he was too much broken in body and spirit by the torture he had undergone to care whether he lived or died; and it is not clear that the alternative was ever offered him. Whether it be the description of him as the tall well-formed fellow, the 'beau lan-'gagier,"and man of great entertainment, entering boldly into the town on his dark and dangerous errand; the individuality and historical distinctness which his figure assumes between the nameless crowd of followers of the Crescent on the one side, and cross-bearing knights on the other; or the quaint simplicity and pathos of the woodcut and its superscription, to which our feelings are due; we must confess a certain lurking and lingering pity for the evil fortunes of poor Master George.

While battering the walls day after day with his heaviest ordnance, the Basha neglected no chance of securing a capitulation. At one time he would suggest a negotiation with the Order itself, on the terms of a free departure from the island with their arms and goods; at another he would set on foot a separate intrigue with the inhabitants of the town, promising them life and property, besides many special immunities, if they would betray the Knights of St. John and become vassals of the Grand Seignior. He thought to find —*vir nefarius*— (says our Vice Chancellor) a faithless rabble liable to fear and accessible to bribery: he found in truth a people true as steel to the Order, and devoted to the orthodox faith. More effectually to second his intrigues by a representation of the alternative in store for the conquered town, he impaled in sight of the walls a

deserter from the garrison, whom he took for a spy, and one or two unfortunate Christian prisoners. In the hope of discouraging this barbarity, D'Aubusson retaliated, in full sight of the besieging camp, upon two Turkish prisoners for each Christian so massacred.

The last attempt, made by the Basha to inveigle D'Aubusson into a composition, is given by the historians at some length. Knowing from experience that the storming of the city would at any rate cost many of his soldiers' lives, he sent a flag of truce with a proposal for a conference upon better terms than he had hitherto offered. Whether he would have observed them if accepted, is perhaps questionable. The Grand Master agreed to the conference, as the gaining even a day was desirable, for the repose of the garrison, and for the additional chance of some succour from the west. An interview took place accordingly between an envoy from the Basha, and Messire Anthony Gualtier, governor of the castle, on behalf of the Order. The wall and ditch separated them while 'loquentes simul,' as the superscription of the woodcut hath it: so that the conversation was carried on in a loud voice. The Turkish ambassador assumed the tone of the stronger party, anxious to spare the weaker from the horrors of a sack, which if they were obstinate must fall upon them sooner or later; expressed the Basha's wonder at the bravery of the defence, but asked how they could reasonably expect to resist a sovereign who had already conquered so many cities and kingdoms; promised the best terms that could be imagined, the free and honourable possession of the island, on their consenting to become allies of the Grand Seignior; and concluded by again exhorting them to take pity on themselves and those of the town, and not persist in incurring such cruel sufferings as the Basha was wont to inflict upon all cities which resisted him to the last. Gualtier the governor answers that 'we on our part must receive with surprise and distrust such 'offers of peace, mingled with such threats, from the mouths of 'enemies so savage and so mighty as they represent themselves 'to be. If they wish for peace, let them withdraw their fleet 'and army, and then send to treat upon equal terms; if they 'want the town, let them try to take it by force of arms, and 'they shall be answered in kind.' 'We are all one in courage, 'and believe firmly in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is very God, 'and for whom we are all prest and apparelled to fight and die, 'rather than join ourselves to your Mahound, which is a false 'and evil faith that you hold; and ours is good and true, and 'with all our power we will keep it. Since you are come in 'great strength, finish what you have begun; and by the grace

'of Jesus Christ we will answer you so well, and with such 'good courage, that you shall know you have not to do with 'Asiatics, or cowards; and tell your Basha, as he is so bold 'and so busy for the profit of the Turk his master, not to 'waste his time in firing bombards and mortars, but to come on 'with all his force; and any two gates of the city he chooses 'shall be thrown wide open for him to do the best he can.'

So bold a defiance enraged the Basha beyond measure. He 'swore by his Mahound' and proclaimed by a herald to those within the walls, that the city should be sacked, and (except children of tender years, who would be sold into slavery) every living soul put to the sword or impaled:— 'et fit faire (says Mary Dupuis) 'quatre cens paulx tous propres'— (Caoursin says 8,000) — continued to batter the Jewish quarter more furiously than ever, and ostentatiously paraded scaling ladders on every side, to induce the defenders to scatter their forces at a distance from the breach which he intended to storm. The wall was now such a mass of ruins, and the ditch so fully filled up, that he might have ridden on horseback through the breach into the town. The Grand Master as usual animates all the garrison by his example, and does not leave the 'pomœrium' night or day; nor are the 'magnanimous bailiffs, priors, preceptors, or brothers of the 'Order,' backward in their duty, nor the Greeks, citizens, and merchants. The spirit of both sides is kept up by martial music. At rise and set of sun the Turks approach the ditch with a noise of drum and fife, chanting songs of triumph over the victory they have yet to win. They are answered by the defiant notes of the Christian trumpets within—'nostri in 'pomœrio tubarum clangore jubilant.' The Turks are observed to perform various preparatory ceremonies, solemn lavations, prayers, and lustrations. They provide themselves with sacks to hold their plunder, and ropes to bind their captives. During the whole of the 26th of July and the following night an incessant fire was kept up against the whole of the Jews' quarter, aimed high, so as to prevent the knights from remaining upon or near the walls. Under cover of this fire storming parties were brought up during the night close to the ditch, unobserved by those in the town. About an hour after sunrise, at a signal given by the firing of a mortar, with a sudden rush from their ambush they crossed the ditch, planted the standard of Mahomet on a tower, and occupied the wall, to the number of 2,500, before the besieged had time to come up from the terreplein below. Notwithstanding the divine instinct of their Grand Master, the knights had been taken by surprise. Their own batteries were in the hands of the enemy, and might be turned

against themselves in a moment. They were obliged to mount their own walls by steep stairs and ladders, fighting desperately for each step in succession with the enemy who were already pouring down into the Jewish quarter. 'Then might you have 'seen,' says Dupuis, 'faire de belles armes'—for they fought, as their Vice-Chancellor tells us, like the glorious Maccabees, or like Roman nobles, well deserving to be called PATRES PATRIÆ. The Grand Master was the first man to mount one of the stairs. He received five wounds, one of which was at first feared to be mortal, and was thrown down twice or thrice off the stair. At last, he and his followers regained the parapet, in spite of blows, darts, showers of stones and arrows, and there maintained the combat upon more equal terms. By this time the enemy had poured in through the breach in such numbers as to embarrass and disable themselves from sheer want of room. Not an inch of ground could be seen on the wall, ditch, or glacis, so thick was the crowd: the number of which was afterwards estimated at 40,000. After two hours of the hottest fighting the Turks gave way, seized (as is asserted) with a panic at the very moment of the Grand Master's displaying his banner, on which was painted the Crucifixion, with Our Lady on the one side the Cross, and St. John on the other. A report ('fama satis constans') was subsequently gathered from the deserters, that on the unfolding of this ensign, there appeared to the whole Turkish army a vision in the air of a golden cross shining, a glorious virgin armed with shield and spear, and a man, clothed in a poor garment, but attended by crowds in glittering attire. Once seized with a panic, they allowed themselves to be 'slaughtered like swine,' without offering any defence. Many were thrown headlong into the Jewish quarter, and killed to a man. Those that were trying to enter by the breach met the terror-stricken fugitives from the walls, and struck at them 'as if they were dogs.' Such a butchery (si grant tuerie) then took place, that it was a wonder to see. In the first surprise one of the Knightly standards had been captured; which was all the gain (says Dupuis) the Turks had, and that, too, very dearly paid for, in kind as well as in lives; for the great red silken standard of the Basha, with all the others which had been planted on the walls, was left in the rout as a trophy for the victors.

The defeat of this day appears absolutely to have crushed the spirit of the besieging army. They retreated on all sides from the immediate vicinity of the walls, withdrew their artillery, and kept close within their camp, 'serrés comme brebis' in the extremity of fear. It was indeed a repulse severe enough to destroy the *morale* of the bravest soldiery. After battering till

the breach was practicable for a man to ride through it from the glacis into the town; after keeping the garrison under arms almost night and day for two months; after actually surprising them at last, and gaining the walls without resistance; they had failed, and in the most ignominious manner. When, and under what conditions, could they hope to succeed? Whatever authenticity might be supposed to attach to the reported vision of the blazing cross, there was enough seen that day of the great ensign of the Order to create a very strong impression of superhuman power fighting on that side. The eight-pointed cross of pure white, gleaming over the cuirass of every one of their knightly opponents, and most conspicuously over the well-known gilt armour of the terrible Grand Master in front of all, pressed them backwards step by step up the inner stairs, cleared the parapet, pursued them over the ditch, and struck them down by thousands. The facts might well justify, on this day as on others, to the minds of both parties the legend of ΕΝ ΤΟΤΤΩι ΝΙΚΑ.

Even the Basha, with the fear of the bowstring before his eyes, and the thought of an angry master sure to ask, if not 'where are my legions?' at any rate 'where are the keys of the 'town you promised to conquer?' felt that it was useless to maintain the siege any longer. He attempted no fresh offensive operations against the town. Some fifteen days afterwards two ships, sent by the King of Naples with reinforcements, both of men and material, appeared in the offing, and after a severe engagement with the Turkish gallies, under the fire, moreover, of the land batteries, succeeded in breaking the blockade and landing their cargo. The Rhodians were 'truly joyous and 'recomforted by the vivers and refreshments' thus received; and the friendly faces were 'les très bien venus et receus de ceulx 'de la ville.' Besides actual succour, these ships conveyed the assurance of moral support and the promise of material assistance from the Powers of Christendom, a paternal admonition by Pontifical letters from the Holy See, and the report of an approaching expedition, aimed at the entire destruction of the enemy's fleet. Caoursin hints that this rumour spread to the camp of the Basha, and quickened his departure. At all events, his want of power to maintain an effective blockade showed him that his position might become dangerous as well as useless during the ensuing winter. After ravaging the island, carrying off all the cattle he could lay hands on, and destroying the gardens and vineyards, he set sail with his whole fleet for the harbour of Physco, on the 15th of August, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin. On that very day, 170 years before, the Hospitallers

of St. John had stormed the city of Rhodes after a siege of four years, and won the proud title of which the Infidels were so anxious to deprive them. 'And you must know,' says our French chronicler, 'that in their retreating the Turks made not 'that great cheer, nor sounded their drums or trumpets, nor 'made the great noise that they did at the laying of the siege, 'but retired as coyly as they could for the fear that they had 'of those of the town; and so they went off to their great dis-'honour. And let us pray God devoutly that they may all ('en 'tel lieu') become good Christians, and uphold the Cathólic faith, 'or otherwise may God of his grace be pleased to destroy them 'altogether, that they may never harm good Christians any 'more. Amen.' So perorates, as in Catholic duty bound, the rough and ready soldier, 'rude and gross of sense and under-'standing,' but painstaking inquirer, and strong and picturesque narrator, Mary Dupuis.

We said above that the Cross struck down its adversaries by thousands on the day of the storming. As was usual in the *mêlées* of those times, the great carnage took place more in the pursuit than in the actual contest. The loss on the part of the Knights was about forty killed (of whom fifteen were among their best officers) and more than 500 wounded. Of the enemy's picked troops there were found after the fight, within the walls, 133, dead or alive; the finest men, says Dupuis, that were ever looked on. These were all thrown into the sea. In the ditch and the approaches, where the Turks were 'slaughtered like 'swine' in their panic, there were counted 3,500 corpses, or more; exclusive of the wounded who regained the camp, where they died in great numbers, as was proved by the size of the cemeteries. The corpses that fell into the possession of the Knights when the siege was raised, were burnt (to avoid a pestilence) upon huge funeral piles made of the timber used in the Turkish works and approaches. For nine days, as in the plains of Troy, πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί—while the good wives of Rhodes (pardon our chronicler for this touch of nature), 'who 'saw the Turks frying in their own grease, cursed them, and 'said they were so fat with the figs and other fruits which they 'had devoured in the citizens' gardens.'

Palæologus Basha escaped the bowstring after all. Undoubtedly he ran great risk of it, after so ignominious a failure in the enterprise which he had done so much to instigate. Mahomet was contented, however, with banishing him to Gallipoli; and, like that general, whose presence in the field was estimated by his greatest antagonist as equivalent to forty thousand men, consoled himself for the defeat of his lieutenant

by declaring that his troops were never successful except when led by himself in person. After collecting in Bithynia during the ensuing winter an army estimated at 300,000 men, he commenced a southward march across Asia Minor, as soon as the season admitted of commencing the campaign. There can be no doubt that Rhodes, so long the eyesore of his power, was the object of this expedition; but such absolute secrecy was maintained as to its destination, that many thought it was intended against the soldan of Egypt. Forty years, however, were still to elapse before the banner of the Crescent should wave over the citadel of Rhodes; and Mahomet was fated to die in his march across Bithynia, on the 3rd of May, 1481.

The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes: and they shone portentously on this occasion. Four comets foretold to the astrologers with great precision Mahomet's death, and the dissensions consequent thereon between his sons Bajazet and Zizim. Without professing to guarantee the prophecies as delivered before the event, we subjoin for the curious the accounts of these celestial phenomena transmitted through the poetry of the age.

'Inanci el suo spirare quatro comete
In cielo aparveno con molto isplendore
Sopra Constantinopoli molto liete,
L'una era grande, e l'altre tre minore;
E par che tutti essò quatro pianete
Si erano tutte di vario colore;
Con signi assai di variate sorte
Significando del turcho la morte.

E le tre comete minore degne e belle
Le due la coda insieme avia legata;
E una falza si attraversava quelle
Apresso agli occhi loro insanguinata;
E in mezo de loro occhii eran tre stelle,
(Le due code una l' una avia legata:)
De le tre stelle le due negro vezo,
E una stella rossa loro in mezo.'

Such were the heavenly signs — to each of which astrology assigned its due signification. The largest comet portended the death of the emperor—'Cioe el gran turcho, capo di turchia,'—the three others, with their varieties of colour, twisted tails, and bloody scythe, foretold, with minute particularity, the course of the quarrel between Mahomet's sons, as it came to pass.

'Ed e adempito per astrologia
Quel che tutti i dottori dichiarone;—

Come el gran turcho morebbe di turchia,
E fra' figlioli sarebbe divisione:'

and so on. The earth gave its tokens as well as the sky: —

'E quando el gran turcho fu in sul passare,
Gran teremoti venevon in turchia,
Tuoni, tempeste, e fortuna di mare,
E le saette del cielo si piovia,
Paria el mondo volesse sobissare;
Corbi infiniti per l'acre avia:' —

until, in accordance with his destiny,

'Si come piacque al eterno Signore
El gran turcho de vita trapassò.'

The news of Mahomet's death reached Rhodes, as Caoursin tells us, exactly one year after the opening of the first battery against the tower of St. Nicholas. Well pleased the Knights must have been to escape a repetition of the last year's siege, if nothing worse. It became the duty of the Vice-Chancellor and Public Orator to improve the occasion; and he has happily reported in full the Oration 'De Morte Magni Thurci,' delivered in the Senate of Rhodes on the day before the Kalends of June, 1481. Our readers may be edified by a slight paraphrase or summary.

'Not without God's pity,' begins the pious orator, 'and that 'divine nod to which all things bow, is the poisoned wound of 'Christendom healed, the consuming fire quenched; the de-'vouring serpent, the second Mahomet, the bitterest enemy of 'the life-giving Cross, and of this our military Order (which 'has been rescued by favour of that redeeming sign alone), is 'dead. How did the infernal one rejoice at the coming of his 'abandoned comrade, and the inmates of hell receive him with 'shouts of joy; if, indeed, there is any joy in that abode at all. 'For surely the fearful mansion of eternal misery is duly re-'served for that most wicked of tyrants, who destroyed the 'souls of so many children, whom he drove to the denying of 'their faith; who dragged so many holy maidens from the 'religious service whereunto they were dedicated; who ruined 'so many noble virgins and chaste wives; who slaughtered 'alike the young, the old, and the decrepid; who profaned the 'relics of the saints, and poluted with the foul rites of Ma-'homet the temples and monasteries of the Catholic faith; who 'swallowed up inheritances, trampled on and seized for his own 'kingdoms principalities and cities; even to the noble imperial 'city of Constantinople; where he committed such enormities

'of cruelty, superstition, and wickedness,' as Caoursin does not like to think of. The tongue of a virtuous public orator sticks to the roof of his mouth, his face is suffused with blushes, and his pale lips are quivering, at speaking of crimes so savage in the presence of the Grand Master and that most illustrious assembly: he can scarcely refrain from tears: but he trusts they will pardon him, inasmuch as Plato himself says that speech must be suited to facts. Who can invent a punishment severe 'enough, or find in hell a place fit for such a monster, where 'his cruel soul may duly pay it's endless penalty? Truly a 'second Lucifer, a second Mahomet, a second Anti-Christ; 'whose guilty corpse (as we may infer) Earth itself refused to 'contain, gaping so widely that it sank at once down to the 'centre and the perpetual chaos of the wicked, where its odour 'of unholiness was so villainous as even to aggravate their 'former pains. For, about the time of his expiring, shocks of 'earthquake were felt over Asia, Rhodes, and the adjacent 'islands, of which the violence destroyed castles, palaces, and 'citadels: the sea itself rose on a sudden ten feet above, and 'ebbed as many below, its usual level. Such phenomena must 'be referred to the strength of the horrid exhalation mentioned 'above: for although they may be brought about in accordance 'with physical principles, still they are wont to portend or 'accompany some great event.'

It appeared noteworthy to the genius of that age, that the death of the Great Turk should have occurred on the anniversary of the finding of the true Cross. The oration naturally concludes with the compliments suggested by the occasion to 'our high and mighty prince and grandmaster, Peter D'Aubus-'son, who in faith may be said to rival the Maccabees, in 'strength Samson, in prudence Cato, in good fortune Me-'tellus, in military genius Hannibal, and in the glory of his 'victory Julius Cæsar.'

One of the woodcuts in Caoursin's volume illustrates the scene of Mahomet's deathbed. A crowned, bearded, hooknosed, ghastly figure lies propped up by pillows on a couch, at the foot of which an attendant is uplifting the wail. The gaunt and powerless arms have fallen outside the coverlet, at the folds of which the fingers have been fumbling. The Ulemas, or whatever other name belongs to the Mahometan priesthood of that age, are administering the last consolations of their religion, and exhibiting for the sultan to kiss or adore an emblem which may be a metal plate with rayed edges, representing a sun or star. In the background are the royal physicians, with crossed forefingers and significant gesticulation, muttering their

last useless consultation upon the treatment of their patient. Over the head of the couch flutters a winged demon, such as Retzsch delights in designing, who, when the last breath exhales, and Mahomet the Second 'trapassa' from his earthly tenement, seizes in grim triumph the helpless soul of his victim, as it issues from the dying lips in the likeness of a newborn child. *Gavisus est quidem infernus perditi sodalis adventu.*

To balance all the abuse which the vigorous and orthodox Caoursin makes it his pleasure and duty to heap on the Great Turk's devoted head, let us refer to the grand simplicity of Mahomet's epitaph, which there is every reason to suppose he drew up for himself. The man who conquered with his own right hand two empires, twelve kingdoms, and three hundred cities, inscribed on his tomb no word in record of so many victories. Not what he did, but what he tried to do, and failed in doing, stands written above his dust. 'I designed to 'conquer Rhodes, and subdue proud Italy.'

It brings back at once the

> 'Actum, inquit, *nihil est*, nisi Pœno milite portas
> Frangimus, et mediâ vexillum pono Saburrâ'

of the great Carthaginian conqueror. A trait of similar character is recorded of Mahomet's great predecessor Saladin; who, before his death, ordered his standard-bearer to carry round the streets of Damascus the winding-sheet in which he was soon to be wrapped, crying aloud as he went, 'See here all that 'the great Saladin, conqueror of the East, carries off with him 'of all his conquests and treasures.' This again is the moral of 'Expende Hannibalem,'—a moral which will bear much repetition, not among the followers of El Islam alone, or the philosophical worshippers of the Roman Pantheon. Saladin and Mahomet the Second did not wait for a Giaour satirist to point the moral for them.

Here we may draw the curtain: for the death of Mahomet was the safety of Rhodes. Scarcely more than a year from this date elapsed, before Misach Palæologus, again restored to court-favour and greatness as a partisan of Bajazet, was treating with D'Aubusson's ambassadors respecting the jealous safe-keeping of the unfortunate Prince Zizim.*

Precellentissimus Princeps noster was the head of the Order

* As a friendly diplomatist he found more favour in Caoursin's sight than as a hostile general. The *monstrum horrendum informe ingens* of the siege changes upon a nearer view into 'vir quidem per-'humanus ac facundus.'

for twenty years more; but the rest of his acts, and the remaining portion of Caoursin's Chronicle, belong to a fresh period of history. Let us leave Rhodes to repair her damaged walls, and cultivate to their former trimness and beauty her spoiled vineyards and gardens; while the knightly champions of St. John of Jerusalem still talk over among themselves, and recount to Mary Dupuis for our benefit, their perils and their preservation *non sine Dei pietate ac divino nutu.*

ART. VI.—1. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Railways, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee.* 1846.

2. *Private Bills and Business of the House of Lords.—Proposed Resolutions.—The Lord Brougham and Vaux.* 1846. Reprinted 1854.

3. *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Private Bills; together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index.* 1846 and 1847.

4. *First and Second Reports from the Select Committee (House of Commons) on Railway Acts Enactments.* 1846.

5. *Reports of Select Committees (House of Commons) on Private Business and Business of the House.* 1851 and 1854.

6. *Standing Orders of both Houses of Parliament.* 1854.

WE are told in Sir Simonds D'Ewes' 'Journal of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth,' that when in one Session applications for individual exemptions from the general law had been rather freely listened to, so that sixty-seven Private Bills for this purpose were presented for the Royal Assent, the Sovereign peremptorily rejected all but nineteen of them. A return made in 1847 shows, that during the first ten years of her present Majesty's reign there were no less than 2697 petitions for Private Bills, and that 2220 Local, Personal, and Private Acts of Parliament received the Royal Assent, or nearly double the number of the Public General Statutes passed during the same time. In the joint Minute of Messrs. Anstey and Rogers in the first Report of Mr. Bellenden Ker on the Proceedings of the Board for the Revision of the Statute Law, the number of Private Acts is estimated at 14,268; and to complete this large collection of special laws he enumerates 9285 Local and Personal Acts, and 2473 of the Public Acts which are merely of a local and personal nature. The

recent Session has added 271 to the list, so that there are in all 26,297 Local, Personal, and Private Acts of Parliament which control, qualify, or dispense with the general law.

It has now become almost impossible to calculate the amount of property, or the number of individuals, locally or personally subjected by so many thousand statutes to exceptive laws: but the Special Acts which relate to railways alone are shown by recent returns to control property to the extent of upwards of 350,000,000*l.* sterling, and to regulate the transit over at least 8000 miles. If the inquiry were extended to the case of turnpikes, towns improvements, piers, docks, harbours, and other public works,—gas, water, insurance, banking, and other companies, regulated by special Acts of Parliament, it would appear that our modern system of private legislation has created exemptions from the general law of the land, exceeding in point of number, and outweighing in operation, the privileges, liberties, franchises, seignorial rights and exemptions, royal grants and concessions of the worst period of arbitrary rule and corrupt government.

We purposely use the term 'modern' in speaking of private legislation, for it is of very recent growth. Of the 26,000 local, personal, and private statutes already referred to, a very inconsiderable number date earlier than the eighteenth century; a very large proportion have received the Royal Assent in the present reign. It has been reserved to our times to witness the encouragement of evils, which were supposed ages ago to have been put an end to, with the suspending and dispensing authority of the Crown,—with the prerogative vagaries, the exclusive grants,—the arbitrary acts of the Tudors and the Stuarts.

Private statutes and constitutions have ever been treated by jurists as an anomaly—LAWS *ex vi termini* having a general and not an individual operation. Our system of private laws resembles in several points that of the *privilegia* and *beneficia* which at different periods of the Roman history had such various operation. In both instances the practice began with extraordinary and anomalous proceedings being resorted to for effecting private injury, punishment, or ruin; and in our own country, as under the Empire, the system of State concessions has grown up to confer on privileged bodies powers and immunities which are opposed to general right and the welfare of the community.

In the oration *pro domo* (c. 17.) Cicero has a bitter invective against the practice of private legislation (to which he was himself a victim); and in his treatise *de legibus* (iii. 19.) he more deliberately denounces the system:—'Majores in pos-

'terum providisse; in privos homines leges ferre noluerunt— 'id est enim privilegium — quo quid est injustius? cum legis 'hæc vis sit, scitum est jussum in omnes.' Like the *privilegia crudelia* et *perniciosa* bewailed by the Roman orator, our own Private Acts were originally designed to confer not a benefit but an injury. The Acts of attainder of the period of the Wars of the Roses successively dealt in the most summary way with the lives, the fortunes, the honours and estates of the adherents of those who lost the vantage ground, — the party who came off victorious being, by the omnipotent authority of Parliament, free to gratify their revenge, uncontrolled by the trammels, the forms, or the doctrines of law.

The earliest parliamentary attainder — that of the Duke of Clarence, in the reign of Edward IV. — is generally fixed upon as the origin of our system of Private Acts; and in the authorised edition of the Statutes at large the distinction between Public and Private Statutes is first made in the reign of Richard III., when the titles of eighteen Private Acts are given. These are in truth highly characteristic of a system essentially bad; we take them from the Table of Private Acts in the second volume of the Statutes at large.

'1. *Titulus Regius*, under which Title all the Reasons and Allegations devised to prove the King to be true and undoubted Heir to the Crown, are set forth at large, and the same allowed, ratified, and enacted by the Lords and Commons, and his Brother's Children made Bastards.

'2. An Act for the King to have the Lands and Possessions of Henry, Duke of Exeter, and of the Duchess, his Wife.

'3. An Act for the Attainder and Conviction of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, John, Bishop of Ely, William Knevitt, John Rushe, Thomas Nandike, Henry, Earl of Richmond, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, George Browne, Thomas Lewkenor, Knight, John Gulford, and many more.

'4. An Act to enable the King to make Grants of the Possessions of the Persons attainted.

'5. An Act for the Attainder of the Bishops of Ely, Sarum, and Exeter.

'6. An Act against Margaret, Countess of Richmond.

'7. An Act for the Attainder of Walter Roberd.

'8. An Act for the Archbishop of Canterbury to enjoy the Rent of 11*l.* 12*s.* per Annum out of the Manor of Ifielde.

'9. An Act to reverse the Attainders made by King Henry the Fourth against Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

'10. An Act for Viscount Lovell to have and enjoy the Manors of Thorpe, Waterville, Alwinkle, Achirch, and Chelviston, in the County of Northampton, &c.

'11. An Act for James Tirrel, and Anne, his Wife, Daughter and Heir of John Arundell, touching the Lands of Arundell, being now attainted.

'12. An Act for the Provost and Fellows of the College of Saint Andrew of Neathercaster, in York, for the enjoying of Forty Acres of Land, upon Part whereof the College is builded.

'13. An Act for Confirmation of Letters Patents made by King Edward the Fourth to the College of Fodringbey.

'14. An Act for the City of Canterbury, touching the Aldermanry Lands, and Alderman of Westgate, and other things in the City of Canterbury.

'15. An Act of Restitution of John Durrant of Colleweston to all his Lands and Tenements.

'16. An Act for the Inhabitants of the Town of Crowland to have the Games and Marks of Swans.

'17. An Act touching the Executors of John Don, Mercer of London.

'18. An Act that the King shall have Wardship of Lands holden of the Duchy of Lancaster by Knight Service, notwithstanding the Trust put in other Persons.'

It will be seen that the private legislation of Parliament at this period hardly extended further than the passing Acts of Attainder and special statutes for altering the descent of honours and estates; we find no instances of special Acts giving arbitrary authority to mere private bodies, such as are now so freely conceded — no special immunity or dispensation even given to individuals from the ordinary law of the land. At this period, indeed, the special interference of Parliament was not very often demanded for such objects. The general laws which protected the property and the persons of Englishmen were deemed too delicate objects to be specially dealt with or modified for the immediate advantages of corporations and companies, and the prerogative lawyers anciently contended for an inherent right in the *Crown* to grant all other special immunities which were then deemed necessary, and to concede personal exemptions from the operation of merely *prohibitive laws*. There are certainly a great many instances to be found of this power of specially dispensing in favour of individuals, with prohibitive laws, being exercised by the Crown from the reign of Henry III. up to the revolution of 1688, whilst no records exist of similar dispensations by Act of Parliament.

The petitions to the Legislature appear in early times to have prayed all kinds of relief; and the diligent antiquary may find among our ancient records samples of such petitions which were summarily referred, not to select committees, but to the several courts where they were properly determinable. In a Parliamentary roll of the time of Edward I., reciting that 'the people

'who came to Parliament were often delayed and disturbed, to 'the great grievance of them and of the court, by the multitude 'of petitions laid before the King, the greatest part whereof 'might be dispatched by the Chancellor, and by the Justices:' it was provided that all the petitions which concerned the seal should come first to the Chancellor, and those which concerned the Exchequer to the Exchequer, and those which concerned the Justices and the law of the land to the Justices, and those which concerned the Jews to the Judges of the Jews; and 'if 'the offences are so great, or if they are of *grace*, that the 'Chancellor, &c. cannot do it without the King, then they shall 'bring them with their own hands before the King to know his 'pleasure, so that no petitions shall come before the King and 'his counsel but by the hands of his said Chancellor and other 'chief ministers; *and thus the King and his counsel may, without 'the load of other business, attend to the great business of the 'realm and of foreign countries.*'

When the rule became more generally established for the sanction of Parliament being required to such extraordinary grants and concessions as were not warranted by the Common Law, and which before it had been the practice to get ratified only by mere charter or royal licence, the new functions of Parliament seem to have been exercised with great forbearance. The virtue was gone out of those arbitrary grants and licences from the Crown which the curious may find in such abundance, in the patent and close rolls of the Norman Kings and which under the heads of 'Prerogative,' &c., occupy so prominent a place in the black letter abridgments of Lord Rolle and Sir Robert Brooke; but the Rot. Parl. are for many ages afterwards almost devoid of instances of similar grants and concessions: once perhaps in half a century we find on the rolls of Parliament a Special Statute to ratify or enlarge the peculiar privileges of the City of London; and such solemn concessions are also to be found respecting other cities; with these exceptions however, and such other important occasions as the supply of the Metropolis with water, &c., in the sixteenth century*, few Private Acts of Parliament exist of more than a hundred years old, which concede local privileges, the right to levy tolls, or compulsory

* It is not generally known that the New River Act was not the first special statute passed for this purpose. The Corporation of London enjoyed many extensive powers under a former Act 35. Henry 8. c. 10., which, though abandoned for the purposes intended, seem to have led to the acquisition by the Corporation of London of a considerable estate in land under the pretence of *digging for water*. See on this subject Stowe's Survey, lib. i. c. 6.

powers of any kind. The adultery of Lady Roos induced the Parliament of 1699 to grant her husband a Special Act of Divorce, and thus to lay the ground of an exclusive jurisdiction in divorce cases which has been habitually resorted to ever since. In addition to these Divorce Bills, Parliament then principally interfered in its system of private legislation, for some special cause, to naturalise a foreigner, or to remove the impediments on the conveyance of landed estates. The Private Acts of Elizabeth's time, already alluded to, are for the most part *Estate Acts*, or for the reversal of the attainders of the period of the civil wars. Lord Clarendon describes the applications to Parliament the year succeeding the Restoration, for Special Acts for setting aside conveyances alleged to have been made through fraud or coercion during the troubles, to have 'exceedingly disquieted and 'discomposed the House, every man being so much concerned 'for the interest of his friends or allies, that he was more 'solicitous for the despatch of those than of any which related 'to the King and the public;' but this was a temporary pressure merely. The private business of Parliament does not seem to have very materially increased, even when the principle became settled that tolls could only be levied under Parliamentary sanction.

The reports of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners show that up to the beginning of the eighteenth century there were only fifty-seven Special Acts for the purposes of local government throughout England and Wales; but at the time of the Reform of the Municipal Corporations in 1835, these Statutes had increased to the number of 700, and at the present moment there are said to be nearly as many in force for the Metropolis alone. In the last century, indeed, Parliament established the lax practice of substituting for general regulations an endless variety of private Acts for each distinct branch of Local Government. Till a recent date, Local Courts for the administration of justice existed only under such special concessions; private statutes regulated the support of the poor, of the church, and the clergy, whilst the same special sanction has almost invariably been required for the formation of public highways, canals, railways, tramroads, bridges, harbours, docks, piers, ferries, &c., the enclosure of waste lands, the protection of river navigation and fisheries, the watching, lighting, paving, and cleansing towns and populous districts, and still more recently the providing cemeteries for the dead.

No matter how universal the mischief to be redressed, and how numerous the applications for relief, private and special was substituted for public and general legislation; and when

in our own times the demand for reform has produced general changes and amendments of the law, these private statutes are suffered to remain in force, and to obstruct as far as may be the course of improvement. Science has conferred on our generation the secret of obtaining by artificial means, whenever it is needed, a supply of water, of light, and of motive power, almost without limit, and the engineering skill and commercial enterprise of the age place these great discoveries at the service of all. Water and gas works, canals, railways, telegraph wires, want only a sufficient demand to insure their ready supply; 'but,' says our restrictive system of legislation, 'skill and enterprise and local 'demands must remain passive till for each several scheme the 'solemn sanction, the form, the ceremony, and the expense of a 'Private Act of Parliament have been obtained; and all must 'remain in the back-ground who are not sufficiently wealthy 'and sufficiently influential to obtain this special sanction.'

A Private Act of Parliament requires the same solemn ceremonial as a Public General Statute. The Bill must pass both Houses of Parliament and be read three times in each before it receives the Royal Assent. Different, however, from a Public Bill, a Bill for a Private Act can only be presented after a formal petition; and the standing orders in the case of railway and other bills of a similar kind require a great deal of preliminary procedure before the petition can be received, a variety of notices to be duly published and served on the landowners through whose property the works are proposed to be carried, and minute plans and books of reference relating to such property to be deposited. After the matter has passed the ordeal of a formal examination by the Examiner, and the Bill has been read a second time, it is referred in each House to a Select Committee, who, we are told, have on some occasions had before them as many as 400 witnesses to establish the *cases* of the various contending parties. Proof of every point in the case must be twice given, be it of the very gist of the inquiry, or the merest technicality,—the House of Lords takes no notice of the evidence given in the Commons; since 1847 the standing orders of each House have been nearly identical, but the privileges of the two Houses, the order and course of Parliament, require the tedious and expensive ordeal to be gone through twice, the Lords' House requiring further the personal attendance of witnesses even as to those matters which in the Commons may now be proved by affidavit.

The quantity of valuable time at present consumed in all these solemnities is a matter of no trifling consideration. We do not refer to the time of the lawyers, engineers, or witnesses

engaged in promoting or opposing a scheme before Parliament, and kept sometimes a month in attendance previous to the case being called on, and detained for weeks afterwards whilst the drowsy proceedings of the committee may last. The liberal remuneration of all these gentlemen goes far to compensate them for the inconvenience; we care only for the public, who are the real sufferers.

The ordinary legitimate duties of the majority of our legislators are light compared with those which arise out of Private Bills. By the House of Commons returns it appears that during the last five years the latter have exclusively occupied the time of the average number of 100 Select Committees. In the Session of 1846 there were 500 sittings of Select Committees, as many as twenty-four being held in one day, and the average number sitting daily being seventeen. In the present year, when a far less amount of private business was disposed of, the 197 opposed bills are shown to have taken up more than 2000 hours of the time of the Legislature in their investigation. Such a consumption of time, coupled with an ill-concealed disrelish for the subjects and the individuals that consume it, tends to add the testimony of Honourable Members themselves to that of the public who are looking on, that a Select Committee on a Private Bill is about the most objectionable tribunal that could be devised for these investigations. Whatever contempt was expressed thirty years ago for Bentham's denunciation of our system of Private Bill legislation as a waste of valuable time for bad purposes, there are few Honourable Members, at the present day, who act as if they dissented from his opinion. Notwithstanding the suggestion of the late Sir Robert Peel to young members to seek in Railway Committees an initiation into the duties of statesmen, the profitless and unappreciated drudgery of a month's attendance on Group A. B. C. or D. deters any member from serving who has a decent excuse to justify his absence.

The sanction which our system requires for works of enterprise and public utility cannot, however, be withheld. The labour of wading through the details of such an enormous mass of investigations *must* be undergone, and Parliament thus distracted from its constitutional duties, is compelled to postpone or neglect measures of national importance;— our foreign relations — the army and navy — the amendment of general abuses — the reform of the civil service — the claims of the colonies — the emergencies of the State, the Church, and the People.

Waste of time is a serious evil. Next to this, if not before it, is the extravagant waste of money. The cost of so much special

litigation is now becoming a matter of public outcry. It is ruinous to many; it is prejudicial to all:—we leave out of the question the expenses of obtaining a judicial construction on so many thousand special statutes conflicting with the general law—we confine ourselves to the mere cost of calling them into existence. We have now before us a few samples of Parliamentary expenses which may serve as data to go by in calculating the sum total of this expenditure within the present reign.

The town of Bury required, eight years ago, certain local works to be effected with a view to the comfort, health, cleanliness, and security of its inhabitants. A Special Act of Parliament was determined on; and that high sanction was gained at a cost of 3697*l.*,—a sum which, it has been stated, would have gone far to effect all the alterations required in the town. Local Courts Acts, it seems, used to cost 1000*l.* a piece; and Bills for supplying towns and villages with water, or effecting local improvements, about 500*l.*; which sum would be at least doubled in case of opposition: the Parliamentary charges upon this necessary of life thus bearing a large proportion to the whole expense of obtaining it.

The Statute Book contains about 70 Special Acts for Liverpool alone. At the commencement of the present reign, the conflict between the various provisions of this body of statutes made it necessary for fresh statutes to be procured; and no less a sum than 100,000*l.* was incurred in the Parliamentary expenses.* Belfast harbour was twice, within seven years, improved by Act of Parliament; and the Parliamentary expenses were 10,186*l.* The Parliamentary costs of the Hull Dock Acts were about 50,000*l.*; while the Corporation of London, who, in keeping together their patchwork municipal system, are peculiarly addicted to proceedings by Private Bills, hesitate not to lay out many thousands at a time in Parliamentary opposition to an unwelcome improvement. Their resistance to the Bill for the removal of Smithfield Market, for instance, drew upwards of 6000*l.* out of the City funds; and Her Majesty's Government, who were the promoters, had to expend a similar amount in order to carry it through both Houses. Even this large expenditure, however, is a trifle compared with that habitually incurred in the case of Railway Bills. Mr. Baxter, the solicitor of the Great Northern (Evidence before Select Committee, 1847, § 160. 182.), states that the Parliamentary expenses of that

* Report Select Committees H. C. on Private Bills, 1846, Ev. of Mr. Rushton, p. 61-7. The details of these expenses are given in the Appendix to this Report.

Company, before a spade was put into the ground, amounted to 432,620*l.* The directors of the South Eastern Railway Company have recently announced to the shareholders, that their Parliamentary Law Expenses for nine years, in endeavouring to beat off competitors after their work was finished, amounted to 479,711*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.*, or the average of 53,301*l.* per annum.* The second Report on Railway Act Enactments informs us (p. 19.), —that 'the Eastern Counties Railway, which is fifty-one miles 'in length, cost 45,190*l.* in Parliamentary expenses alone. The 'Parliamentary expenses of the London and Birmingham Railway has been estimated at 650*l.* per mile: of the Great Western 'at 1000*l.* per mile.' 'Mr. Peto mentions one instance within 'his own knowledge, where, though the line was utterly im-'practicable, and the Bill never went beyond the Standing 'Orders Committee of the House of Commons, the solicitor's 'account, which did *not* include the expenses of engineers, and 'various other outlays, amounted to no less a sum than 82,000*l.*' From another source we learn that, in the case of the Worcester and Hereford Railway, extending over only twenty-nine miles†, and started with a capital of only 580,000*l.* (estimated as more than sufficient to complete the whole work), the Parliamentary expenses amounted to 250,000*l.*, or one-fourth per mile more than the average cost of the entire construction of railways in the United States.

The personal inconvenience to members in attending Select Committees, and the enormous costs which Private Bills occasion, are, however, after all, of secondary importance to other evils, which the present system gives rise to,—evils arising from the mode of enacting Local and Personal Laws, and their subsequent operation on the General Law.

Montesquieu, in a chapter of his 'Spirit of Laws,' specially devoted to the subject of the British Constitution (lib. xi. ch. vi.), points out the inevitable evils arising from a union of legislative and judicial powers in the same body. Some writers have ridiculed the gloomy prophecy of this French philosopher, that England will perish when the legislative power becomes more corrupt than the executive; but modern experience tends, no less than historical facts, to show, that Montesquieu really touches upon a vulnerable spot in our Constitution. When a Parliamentary Committee undertakes to adjudicate on conflicting private claims,—when, as will be seen over and over again in

* See Report of Directors, published in Herapath's Railway Journal, Sept. 9. 1854.

† Herapath's Railway Journal, Sept. 1853.

the reports before us,—Parliament acknowledges itself incompetent to discharge efficiently the functions of judge,—when it is considered that members of Select Committees incur no direct responsibility, and that, if even devoid of pecuniary interest, they are open to personal bias, local influence, and individual solicitation,—it must be admitted that we possess very slight security against corruption.

The journals of the House of Commons show that in times gone by the system of private legislation *did* lead to Parliamentary corruption. We must not forget that those journals record the fact of even the Speaker being tempted by the sterling coin of the Corporation of London to connive at an iniquitous Coal Tax Bill, passing through Parliament under the deceptive title of '*An Act for Relieving the City Orphans.*' There yet exist a variety of resolutions on these journals of a more recent date, ominously denouncing attempts to bribe or corruptly influence Members with regard to Private Bills; and there are not wanting cases which have come before our ordinary tribunals, where Members of the Legislature have entered into formal bargains, for valuable considerations in money, not to oppose a Private Bill.

The reign of the railway kings and the days of railway speculations will not soon be forgotten: those days when the mania for scrip was *epidemic*, seizing alike the humble citizen and the lordly aristocrat—when the *allottees* were not only those who appeared openly as *promoters*, but too often the Senators who sat in judgment—when dukes entered the share market, and M. P.'s in crowds became *provisional committeemen*—when Lawyers and Parliamentary Agents made fortunes by their personal influence with Honourable Members—when millions were expended in Parliamentary expenses, and shares were reserved, and funds expressly allotted for *secret service*. This, at all events, afforded grounds for pondering well on Montesquieu's remarks, and believing that Bentham might in his time have felt justified by personal observation in characterising a Select Committee of the House of Commons as 'a judicature (to use his own peculiar phraseology) 'as to all points of appro-'priate aptitude rendered notoriously in the highest degree 'unapt, and in particular in respect of moral aptitude; in one 'word, by *corruption*.'*

Supposing, however, that the rough language of Bentham is inapplicable to our times—that Parliament contain none but the most immaculate Members—that *bribery* is out of the ques-

* Constitutional Code, lib. i. ch. xvi. s. 4.

tion, and the high tone of feeling which happily prevails so extensively in English society suffices to prevent a single interested vote being given in a Parliamentary Committee,—ungracious as it may be to mention it, it is undeniable that *canvassing* Members of Parliament for votes on Private Bills does prevail to a very considerable extent. The vote and influence of a single Peer or County Member may decide the fate of a Railway Bill. Canvassing cannot be prevented. It is, indeed, openly practised, and unblushingly charged for in the *bill of costs.** How is its effect to be obviated? Are Members of the Legislature to withstand in the case of Private Bills the importunities of influential persons possessed of local power? holders of land, lenders of money, local officials and active Parliamentary Agents, busy town clerks who can *manage* a whole borough, solicitors who hold the title-deeds of both constituent and delegate, and who are able to *command* unhappy mortgagors?

We impress on the minds of our law students that the principles of justice are immutable, and that positive laws should ever have an equal and general application—that it is for the Legislature alone to make them—the Judges of the land to decide on their application—that for money, influence, or favour no variation should be made: we call to mind the struggle between the nation and the Prerogative—the orthodox doctrines enunciated in Magna Charta, and vindicated by the Bill of Rights; and we still imagine ourselves secure in the constitutional guarantee that 'nulli vendemus nulli negabimus aut 'differemus justitiam aut rectum:' but after a short experience of the practices of Private Bills, the young lawyer soon discovers that these notions are not now in fashion. Our Private Bill system offers the greatest incentive to the practice of *canvassing* for the votes of the Committee—the most substantial ground for undermining the public confidence in the personal integrity, independence, efficiency, and honour of their legislators. A modern Parliamentary Committee, with the encouragement it affords to personal canvassing,—its reckless expenses,—its entire

* See the bill of costs for the Bury Improvement Bill, set out in Appendix 3. to the Report on Private Bills of 1847, where charges are made for making copies of the List of Committee, and attending each of them in succession, and also on various members in the Lobby and elsewhere, in consequence of 'having received information that 'the opponents of the Bill were attempting to influence members to 'throw out the Bill.' (See the Items, *ubi sup.* p. 358.) The Parliamentary agents in the same case charge twenty-five guineas for attendance on *parties not specified*, during the progress of the Bill.

disregard of the forms of law or the universal principles of jurisprudence,—serves to encourage the promoters of almost any private scheme requiring the sanction of the law, if properly backed by wealth and influence. Our Constitution declares that Parliament, like the Queen, can do no *wrong*; but, as once gravely observed by a learned Judge, Parliament can do things which sound *very strange*. One day a City Coal Act, another a North Wales Railway Act take their places in our statute book. This Session we hear of thousands—a few years ago of millions—being squandered in *Parliamentary expenses*. The legal investigation of a claim to twenty guineas, or to half an acre of land, is exclusively entrusted to the most learned and experienced lawyers, whose responsibility is secured by the strongest guarantees, whose conduct is uniformly above all suspicion, whose lives have been devoted to the study of jurisprudence and the examination of evidence, while in the case of those vast conflicting claims that are submitted to the arbitration of Parliamentary Committees all guarantees are wanting for the legal competency, the general efficiency, or even the integrity of the Judges.

The language of Lord Brougham's Resolutions is free from any ambiguity as to the worth of a decision by a Private Bill Committee.

'5. While the most trifling question arising between parties on the state of disputed facts, or the application of known laws to these facts, must in this, and indeed in every country enjoying the blessings of regular Governments, come before tribunals qualified by the learning, skill, and experience of the Judges composing them, to deal with such comparatively easy questions, the oftentimes much more important and much more difficult questions raised by the consideration of Private Bills only come before Committees of both Houses, on which professional men hardly ever sit, and which are wholly composed of persons who can have no experience to guide them, inasmuch as each can only sit on one or two cases in the course of a Session.

'6. That the individual responsibility of the Judges who compose the ordinary tribunals of this and all well-governed states affords a security eminently necessary for enforcing the due administration of justice, and for giving the community full confidence in their decisions,—a security held to be necessary, although it is much more difficult for a Judge, dealing with the known and fixed rules of the law, to swerve from his duty, and pervert that law to the purposes of injustice, than it is for men who are called upon to decide on the provisions of a Bill professedly creating exceptions to the law for particular purposes, and arbitrarily dealing with rights according to no known or fixed rules or principles whatsoever.

'7. That in Committees of the two Houses, and dealing with inte-

rests oftentimes incomparably more important than ever come before Courts of Justice, the members—guided by no fixed rules, changed in each case, unknown to the community, not acting in the eyes either of a watchful public or a jealous profession,—act almost wholly without any individual responsibility, nor can be prevented, as Judges are, at least in this country, from privately seeing parties, behind each others' backs, and proceeding upon information, and listening to reasons, and yielding to motives of a private and personal nature.'

In the debate on railway business at the commencement of the Session of 1846, Lord Brougham denounced in no measured terms the folly of vesting in

'Parliamentary Committees—*in the very worst tribunals that mortal man's wit ever devised*—the entire management of so enormous a proportion of the judicial business of the nation—for judicial business it was—to permit such a tribunal to sit in judgment on such a mass of property as was daily subject to the decision of Committees of that House,—property exceeding by a hundredfold all the property under litigation in all the Courts of Law or Equity.'

In the same year we find the House of Commons Committee reporting to the House that

'No provision is made for furnishing the Committees which sit upon Private Bills with complete and trustworthy information, either with regard to the local evils requiring remedies, or with regard to the bearing which the provisions proposed in them may have upon the general law of the country. As the public are not represented before the Committee by any competent or duly qualified person, the Committee when the Bill is unopposed are wholly dependent for information on the interested representations of the promoters, inasmuch as the expenses of Opposition are such as to deter all parties from venturing to undertake it, except those whose interests are directly affected by the project, and who are also possessed of considerable means. The consequence is, that under the present system the interests of the public at large, who have neither the means of obtaining detailed information as to the proposed measures, nor the means of defraying the expenses of Opposition, are often greatly prejudiced by Local Acts. That besides this there are, moreover, often introduced into Local Bills provisions of the most objectionable nature, some varying or interfering with the general Statute or Common Law of the country; some, though ordinary in their nature, yet of a perplexing and needless diversity in form; and, finally, some so contradictory and mutually discordant as to render their improvement impossible, and to make the law doubtful and embarrassing even to those who are professionally versed in it.'

Sir William Blackstone, who every now and then glosses over the defects of our institutions in a manner which Lord Eldon must at an early period of his professional career have studied with great relish, thus apologises (vol. i. p. 139.) for our Private

Bill system, as one designed to protect the rights of private property:—

'So great, moreover,' says the learned Judge, 'is the regard of the law for private property, that it will not authorise the least violation of it, no not even for the general good of the whole community. If a new road, for instance, were to be made through the grounds of a private person, it might, perhaps, be extensively beneficial to the public, but the law permits no man or set of men to do this without consent of the owner of the land. In vain may it be urged that the good of the individual ought to yield to that of the community, for it would be dangerous to allow any private man, or even any public tribunal, to be the judge of this common good, and to decide whether it be expedient or no. Besides, the public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of every individual's private rights as modelled by the Municipal Law. In this and similar cases the Legislature alone can, and, indeed, frequently does, interpose and compel the individual to acquiesce, but how does it interpose and compel? Not by absolutely stripping the subject of his property in an arbitrary manner, but by giving him a full indemnification and equivalent for the injury thereby sustained. The public is now considered as an individual treating with an individual for an exchange. All that the Legislature does is to oblige the owner to alienate his possessions for a reasonable price, and even this is an exertion of power *which the Legislature indulges with caution*, and which nothing but the Legislature can perform.'

In another passage (vol. ii. p. 345.) the learned commentator tells us, that when the ingenuity of some and the blunders of other practitioners have grievously entangled an estate by a multitude of artificial contrivances, a Private Bill is at last resorted to, and the transcendant power of Parliament is called in to cut the Gordian knot. Bentham, who on most subjects of Law and Legislation takes a totally opposite view to that of Blackstone, denounces our Private Bill system as radically pernicious, causing a wasteful consumption of the time of Parliament, its usurpation of powers which more legitimately belong to the Judges of the land, or our local tribunals, and engendering a habit of laxity and corruption more prejudical than either of the other evils.*

Whether the multitude of 'artificial contrivances' which Blackstone refers to are really got rid of by the transcendent power of Parliament speaking through a modern Private Act, let our Chancery and Law reports of the last ten years, and our bulky volumes of Private Statutes, be cited to prove. The construction of local, personal, and private statutes, and vain efforts to reconcile their conflicting clauses, at present occupy

* Constitutional Code, lib. i. ch. xvi. s. 4.

by no means an inconsiderable portion of the time of the Judges at Westminster Hall, whilst the statutes themselves literally answer to Livy's description, '*immensus aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulus*' (iii. 34.). It is a remarkable fact, that although the whole of the private Acts of the United States of America up to 1845 are contained in a single 8vo., the local and personal and private statutes of the reign of Victoria alone occupy upwards of seventy huge folio volumes.

At the time when Sir Wm. Blackstone wrote, such small consideration was attached to the subject of Private Bill Legislation, that throughout his four volumes we only find it alluded to in the two short passages already quoted. Lawyers had not then reasons to feel the professional interest which has been since excited in the proceedings before Parliamentary Committees. The services of an astute conveyancer were probably called in every now and then to prepare a short Bill which should, to use Blackstone's own language, cut the 'Gordian knot' that previous artifices or blunders had formed; and the Legislature gave its formal sanction to what the Judges (always consulted in such cases) had previously recommended. Occasionally, too, some brilliant *Nisi Prius* leader was specially retained to advocate an election petition, in order to inoculate County Members who sat in judgment with the principles of justice, the doctrines of law, and the rules of evidence and decorum observed in Westminster Hall; but the profession then recognised no *Parliamentary Bar*. There was not then sufficient inducement for barristers to forego the brilliant prospect of legitimate success in Westminster Hall to devote themselves entirely to Committee business. Things have been somewhat different of late years, and Parliamentary practice leads rapidly to fortune if not to fame.

The evidence given before the Private Bill Committee of 1847 on the subject of professional practice in Parliamentary business can hardly fail to interest even those who are neither gainers nor losers by the system. Mr. Baxter, a gentleman not only of great experience, but in the present enjoyment of very extensive practice as a Parliamentary Solicitor, and therefore not very likely to press unfairly against the profession, was questioned rather closely on the subject of the expenses and delay of inquiries before Select Committees on Private Bills, and the professional practices which conduced to them; and we here give a few extracts from his evidence.

'281. If a railway, though it be a trunk, has cost 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* before it has got through Parliament under the existing system of railway legislation, it certainly seems to show that this

system, somehow or other, does produce an expenditure which is not quite wholesome to the country, upon which no return is afforded, *though it gets into the pockets of professional men, with, of course, great satisfaction to themselves.*'

Mr. Baxter gives us little information as to what proportion of these large sums gets into the pockets of the members of his own branch of the profession, but he does tell us a great deal about the Bar. He is asked (282, 283.)—'Have you any other 'suggestion to offer for the purpose of diminishing expense?' And he makes answer,—

'There is the question as to counsel. It has been suggested whether it would not work wholesomely to lay down a rule, that not more than two counsel should be heard in a case. I am afraid that under the existing system such a rule would not be practicable; it would not work well. The Committee are aware that the present system is one of a very peculiar character, and one that requires consideration, if you come to deal with the question of lessening the expenses before Committees, of the fees of counsel, and the attendance of counsel, and so forth. The present system is that of *comprehending within the space of about two months all the judicial inquiries that ensue in one House of Parliament upon the subject of Railways.* I have taken the Committees of last year. I find about 500 sittings of Committees; I find that the average number of Committees sitting daily was seventeen, and I find that the greatest number of Committees sitting on one day was twenty-four.'

He is asked if it would not be quite possible for each Committee to say, 'we will only hear two counsel;' and replies,—

'That course would compel us to choose a counsel who would sit in the Committee during all the time of its proceedings, and conduct the case; but that would deprive us of all the leading counsel, and we should be driven, where we must have a leading counsel, *to give him* 1000 *or* 2000 *guineas, in order to induce him to come into the Committee, and sit down till the case is heard,* because he would have to sacrifice his attendance on other Committees.

'287. Does not the same thing take place in all the Courts of Law, and, therefore, why should this exception be made in this case? —*Because the Parliamentary tribunal forms an exception from all others; it is the only Court in the country in which there are twenty-four separate tribunals sitting at the same moment hearing different cases.*

'304. What is the fee to a leading counsel?—It varies according to the weight of the case.

'305. What is the greatest amount of fees you ever paid to one counsel for one bill?—Perhaps 2,500*l.*

'306. Then if you gave a counsel 2,000*l.* for attending to such a bill, you would not make a bad bargain?—No.

'307. In the Common Law proceedings did you ever give to any

counsel 2,500*l.* for any private business, either in the Courts of Law or in the House of Lords?—No, never.

'308. Why should a counsel attending a Committee of the House of Commons or the House of Lords receive so much larger fees than a counsel in the Common Law Courts?—It is the magnitude of the interest at stake: that is the only good reason for their receiving larger fees.'

Mr. Baxter then describes the practices prevailing in *Committee business* of counsel who are much employed accepting a number of engagements for the same morning, and making a show of keeping them all by paying an occasional visit to each Committee-room,—interfering in the midst of the cross-examinations of a witness, or coming to the aid of a junior, and being listened to when they authoritatively tell the Committee, 'In 'such and such a case I remember so-and-so was decided.' [297.] Mr. Baxter contrasts this state of things with the practice of the Courts at Westminster Hall, and observes:—

'You dare not allow a counsel to come in and interfere in the middle of an examination there. The difference entirely lies in the nature of the judicature before which you stand. In the one case, there are Judges who keep you strictly to the rules of law, and whose inference is immediate if there is anything said by your own witness against you, or elicited against your antagonist; the inference is immediate; the Judge's eye is upon it; you see at once that it gives a turn to the case, so that you dare not run any risk. But it is very different with a Committee of the House of Commons. *It is a desultory tribunal; you take all sorts of courses, you offer all sorts of evidence, you make all sorts of observations, not having a presiding mind familiar with judicial proceedings.*'

'321. You think that a counsel before a Committee of the House of Commons or of the House of Lords may, in fact, deviate from the proper course of examination much more than he may before an ordinary legal tribunal?—*Not only that they may do it, but that they do it continually.*

'323. But, in Committees of the House of Commons, would you wish a strict legal line to be taken and adhered to?—Yes. Being accustomed to hear arguments in the Courts of Law and in the Courts of Chancery, and to hear arguments before Committees of the House of Commons, the difference is exceedingly marked.

'324. Looking at the practice before the two Houses of Parliament, and, looking at the practice of the Courts, *do you conceive that anything like the amount of ability, on the part of counsel, is necessary before Committees of the two Houses of Parliament that is necessary in the Courts of Law?—I have no hesitation in saying that I think not.*

'325. *Such being the case, are you aware whether a gentleman practising before Committees of the Houses of Parliament, or of*

gentleman practising before the Lord Chancellor or the Judges of the land, receives the best emoluments?—The former without exception.

'326. *Enormously different?—Very largely different, certainly.*

'327. Do not many young men, who have never had two briefs in their lives, on coming before Committees of the House of Commons, receive the same amount of fees as experienced practitioners in the Courts of Law?—No doubt; but there is this countervailing circumstance, that a *man who comes into the House of Commons loses his standing in the Law Courts. Men have been drawn from the Law Courts within the last two or three years in very great numbers; but before that time the Profession always considered that when a man was known to practise before Committees of the House of Commons, he was not competent, from experience and practice, to lead in the Common Law Courts.*

'328. In fact he loses the undoubted advantage of living in a legal atmosphere?—Quite so.

'329. And he acquires loose habits of acting, that stick by him for life?—Yes; *it is a common saying in the Profession that Committees of the Houses of Parliament are the very worst school into which to send a young barrister. High fees, little legal knowledge, and all sorts of irregularities.*'

So here we find a class of barristers, 'not competent from 'experience and practice to conduct business in the Common 'Law Courts,' not possessing 'anything like the amount of 'ability essential to success there, and yet receiving an "enor-'"mously different" emolument:' and then these two circumstances naturally produce a third; for Mr. Baxter, in summing up the characteristics of the Parliamentary Bar, states them as consisting in '*high fees, little legal knowledge, and all sorts of* '*irregularities.*'

As one instance of these '*irregularities*' we find gentlemen at the Parliamentary Bar undertaking for very large fees what they cannot possibly perform,—viz., to advocate, without limit, as many cases as are offered them, though they are set down for hearing in different tribunals sitting at the same hour.

'As the practice of late has been,' say the Committee of 1847 in their Report, 'a counsel may be *paid for attending in twenty* '*committee-rooms on the same day,* and he is therefore unable to 'attend and to do justice either to his clients or to the tribunal 'before which he is to plead. The mischief is universally ac-'knowledged and deplored. The parties are subjected to enor-'mous expenses, the Committees to confusion and delay, and the 'Parliamentary Bar, if not the entire Profession, to the reproach 'of receiving fees for work which it is impracticable for them to 'accomplish.' (*Report*, p. viii.)

Now whatever excuse may be offered for the occasional *absence of counsel* in the Courts at Westminster Hall, where it

can rarely be ascertained beforehand at what day or hour any particular case will come on to be heard, and where a very moderate *honorarium* is given to secure at all risks the services of such counsel as the discretion of the attorney may select, it seems to us wholly inexcusable in a barrister to deliberately accept a brief to attend a Parliamentary Committee, and then engage himself elsewhere. A brief to attend a Private Bill Committee is always, or ought, by the etiquette of the Profession, to be, preceded by a *special retainer*. The brief, unlike an ordinary Nisi Prius brief, is taken with full intimation as to the precise time when it is to be attended to; and the old etiquette of the Profession, which required special retainers and special fees for each day's attendance before Committees, is still at all events professed to be observed; and this etiquette gives each barrister —junior or senior — that is fortunate enough to be engaged in Committee business, a distinct special fee of ten guineas for every morning's attendance, and of five guineas for every evening's consultation on each case, so that the fifteen guineas a-day is earned so long as the Committee drags its slow length along; and it is something more than *irregularity* at all events, for either leader or junior to be paid by the day in this liberal manner, and to absent himself from his work.

Seven years ago, certain irregular practices which had grown up among the gentlemen of the long robe attending Parliamentary Committees were rather freely discussed both by the Profession and the Press. A meeting of the Bar was convened by the Attorney-General to consider how to meet a new practice among railway companies, their agents and solicitors, who, systematically marking very heavy fees on their counsels' briefs, made up every now and then for such prodigality by omitting to pay them. The meeting was declared to be a private one, but reports of its proceedings were made public; and the result we thus find to have been, that the Bar declared themselves unable to remedy any of the abuses or inconveniences complained of.

Whilst we thus learn something of the practices of the Parliamentary Bar, there is, as already observed, very little information in either of the Reports before us as to the practices or profits of the solicitors and parliamentary agents, or their precise share of the enormous amounts of Parliamentary expenses which the public have had to bear within the last fifteen years. We are told, indeed, that, 'with respect to the expenses 'generally for business before Parliament, they are rated pro-'portionably *much higher* than similar business before any other 'tribunal; that for each item in a Parliamentary bill of costs

'the solicitors' and agents' charges are about double those 'ordinarily allowed in Westminster Hall.' (*Report Committee of* 1847, p. xii.) But this mode of reckoning the profits goes a very little way in enabling us to get at the real amount. The bill of costs of the Bury Improvement Act, already alluded to, and given in full in the Appendix to the Report of 1847, enables us, however, to make something of a guess. The whole bill, it will be seen, amounts to 3696*l.* 6*s.*; and having taken the trouble to deduct the several items of payment (or *money out of pocket*, as the phrase is), we find the profits of the parliamentary agents and solicitors together amount to at least 1500*l.*, or three times the cost of all the witnesses, and *five times the amount of all the fees paid to all the counsel engaged*,— in fact, about five-twelfths of the whole expenses. If this may be taken as a sample, our readers may judge for themselves what must have been the amount of profits made by solicitors and parliamentary agents during the railway mania out of the millions squandered before Parliamentary Committees.

The large fortunes recently made by parliamentary practitioners in each branch of the Profession, have, indeed, been matters of notoriety. When we consider how many millions have been squandered before Parliamentary Committees—so large a share going in the shape of profits to the parliamentary agents and solicitors—and when we see members of the Bar of the class described by the experienced Mr. Baxter remunerated at a far higher rate than Erskine or Brougham, Follett or Pemberton Leigh, Thesiger or Cockburn, Bethell or Bramwell, is it possible that Parliamentary business should *not* be an object of eager contention—that something more than ordinary efforts should *not* be made to secure a share of it? The solicitors as a class are not apt to let slip an opportunity of benefiting themselves. The discipline of the Bar of late years has unfortunately been very lax. It is always difficult to prevent nepotism; but considering the kind of influence which will succeed in Private Bill business, and the little required of the gentlemen retained, we are not surprised to see *patronage* here all powerful—to find parliamentary agents and solicitors so intimately mixed up in railway adventures,—and barristers employed before Committees who have 'never before held two 'briefs in their lives.'

Is it a very extravagant charge that is sometimes made, that directorships in a railway scheme are even sought after with a view merely to secure the patronage?—and that occasionally railways are got up, and bills promoted or opposed, with no other subject than *the manufacture of Parliamentary expenses?*

Whether or not such be the case, we have before us, at all events, plain and intelligible statements,—evidence of practices that the Legislature would be too ready to reform if they existed in the ordinary Courts of Justice—practices alike discreditable to all parties concerned, and redounding little to the honour of Parliament itself, which has the power at once to put an end to them and suffers them to continue.

These abuses of Private Bill Committees have been the subject of discussion, almost annually during the present century, in both Houses of Parliament. There are already upwards of seventy long Reports, in which the delay, expense, and general inconvenience of our Private Bill system have from time to time been pointed out. Over and over again have the Standing Orders been amended, altered, relaxed, or made more stringent, with a view to meet the general outcry against the almost inevitable practices which the system encourages. Some salutary changes have certainly been made in the constitution of Committees, the mode of selection, and the reduction of the number of members, so as in some degree to check corrupt practices, and to prevent the disgraceful habit said to have formerly prevailed, of members who had heard none of the evidence, coming in to outvote those who had; and the more important reform has been carried, of providing, by general law, for several subjects hitherto dealt with only by Private Acts; but the system of private legislation and the greater portion of the inconveniences still remain.

After so many ineffectual efforts at improvement, the alternative is still left, to substitute a system entirely new; and the Legislature may then endeavour to remedy, if possible, the evils of the past, and to guard against their recurrence. With respect to future legislation, not only for railways and canals, but for nearly all matters which our Private Bill system now embraces, the time has surely arrived when we can follow the example set us by our cousins in the United States, and substitute general legal provisions for clumsy enactments passed *pro hac vice*, based on no recognised principle, and ever conflicting with each other.

Some writers, indeed, have argued that in interfering at all by way of special statute,—dispensing, in favour of private persons, with the general law,—Parliament necessarily acts against common justice; that Parliament ought not to dissolve a marriage, valid by general law, at the prayer of one only of the parties to the contract; that Parliament ought not to give a landed estate contrary to the expressed wishes of the testator or the settlor, and to the prejudice of persons yet unborn; and that it is equally unjust and arbitrary for a mere Private Act of Parliament to compel me, against my own consent and the general

law of the land, to surrender my property at the special demand of private adventurers.

There is much truth in all this. Either the redress sought by petitioners for Private Bills is *of right*, and cannot be refused, or it is not so, and Parliament ought not to interfere. A duke or a marquis has no more *right* to demand of Parliament to clear away the defects in the title to his land, so as to enable him to lease or to sell it, than the inheritor of the most wretched patrimony which has become embarrassed by mismanagement, legal blundering or trickery. Even if any justification can be pleaded for our present divorce system, by which one single false step on the part of a wife suffices for the dissolution, by the husband, of the contract of marriage, which remains unaffected by a whole life of profligacy, cruelty, and infamy on his own part, the principles which are to govern divorces *à vinculo* ought, in common decency, to be uniformly applied to all parties under the same circumstances. Baronets and squires have no greater claim to obtrude their domestic grievances on the notice of Parliament, and demand a divorce from a frail spouse, than a shopman or an artisan. Either let the right to dissolve such solemn obligations be general, or let not Parliament make invidious exceptions in favour of those who are *able to pay* for a Private Act. So with regard to property in land: let general laws regulate the principle on which it is to yield to the public engineers; but let not Parliament, on behalf either of mere private individuals or commercial companies, specially alter the ordinary course of the law, derogate from the rights of persons or of property, upset existing settlements, or force the occupier out of possession. The laws of the land ought not, except in the most pressing emergencies, to be dispensed with by a Private Statute in favour or to the prejudice of any one. Why should a whole people meet to make a law for one man? Μηδὲ νόμον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἐξεῖναι θεῖναι, ἐὰν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις τιθῇ.*

The rights of property do not differ in principle from those which are merely personal. There is little difficulty in defining generally by law, for what public advantages the strict rights of persons are to be made to yield; how and under what restrictions the maxim is generally to apply, *privatum incommodum publico bono pensatur.* There would be far more convenience, far less injustice in defining, by a general law, the principle of expropriation recognised by our continental neighbours, and generally regulating the compulsory purchase of private property for public purposes, than in passing so many special statutes, at the

* Demosth. contra Aristocrat. p. 649.

prayer of private companies, conferring on them arbitrary powers which the public advantages may turn out wholly insufficient to justify.

General enactments and the rules of our Common Law do at present declare for what local or public purposes the right of personal liberty shall be interfered with, the private convenience being compelled to yield to the public call for the services of persons subjected to compulsory duties. The Commonwealth, it is said, has a right to demand the services of every subject; and few of our readers have been exempted from the public call, however inconvenient to them, to serve as sheriff, overseer, constable, or juror. The Law makes, for the advantage of society, certain general exemptions; but *the rule* is, that the personal liberty of an Englishman is qualified by his personal obligations to the community. Is private property less amenable to the regulations of the State than personal liberty? Are the wants of the community, in the one case more than the other, to yield to private caprice? Are public works of urgent necessity to stand still, because an individual capriciously opposes them? If canals, railways, artificial supplies of water and light are, by the course of human improvement, substituted for more primitive advantages, they cease to be of the nature of luxuries obtained as a *privilege;* they become matters of general necessity and general right. Every county, every city, town, and village in the empire has a *right* to demand the same facilities for obtaining them; but it is a mockery to say that such equal facilities are afforded by the Private Bill system. Justice disclaims *private* concessions, and the exclusive Parliamentary *privileges* of the wealthy and the influential.

The maxims of antiquity and the 'wisdom of our ancestors,' made the construction of public works, and more especially highways and bridges, subjects of general obligation to which the persons and property of all were compelled to give way. 'Ad instructiones reparationesque itinerum pontiumque,' says Justinian's Code*, 'nullum genus hominum, nulliusque digni-'tatis ac venerationis meritis cessare oportet.' And Sir William Blackstone tells us, that this was part of the *trinoda necessitas* to which every man's estate was subject; viz., 'expeditio 'contra hostem, arcium constructio et pontium reparatio. For, 'though the reparation of bridges only is expressed, yet that of 'roads also must be understood.' (Vol. i. p. 357.) This Common Law obligation, it is true, was satisfied by a pecuniary contribution from the owner or the occupier towards the public exigen-

* C. 11. 74. 4.

cies; but the principle which was thus recognised at so early a period may justly be now applied by Parliament to the exigencies of our own times; and a general law which should declare for what public purposes private property can be compulsorily purchased would be a law founded on justice and conducive to the general good.

The Common Law, so far from narrowing the sound maxims of public policy to which we refer, inculcates the doctrine, that the right of private property is held subject to the wants and emergencies of the community. We have rather a quaint illustration of this in a case reported in the twelfth book of Lord Coke's Reports, when all the justices being consulted as to the nature of the Royal Prerogative with respect to digging for saltpetre, are reported to have given very learned and elaborate reasons in favour of the King's authority. They argued that gunpowder being necessary for the defence of the realm, and this being only to be made with saltpetre, the King's ministers were by the Common Law, for the public benefit and the safety of the realm, justified in coming into the lands of any private subject to dig for the same; and there are minute rules laid down for the limitation of the exercise of this power, which are by no means inferior in composition to the provisions of the Standing Orders, or the Lands Clauses Act.

'The ministers of the King cannot undermine, weaken, or impair any of the walls of any houses, be they mansion-houses, or outhouses, or barns, stables, dove-houses, mills, or any other buildings; and they cannot dig in the floor of my mansion-house which serves for the habitation of man; for this, that my house is the safest place for my refuge, safety, and comfort, and of all my family; as well in sickness as in health; and it is my defence in the night and in the day, against felons, misdoers, and harmful animals; and it is very necessary for the weal public, that the habitation of subjects be preserved and maintained.

'Also the ministers of the King cannot dig the floor of any barn employed for the safe custody of any corn, hay, &c. of the owner, for that the floor of a barn cannot be made dry and serviceable again in a long time; but they may dig in the floors of stables and ox-houses, so that there be sufficient room left for the horses and other cattle of the owner, and so that they repair it in convenient time, in so good plight as it was before; also they may dig in the floors of cellars and vaults, so that there be sufficient room for the necessaries of the owner; and so that the wine, beer, and other necessary provision of the owner be not removed, or in any sort impaired. And they may dig any mud-walls which are not the walls of any mansion-house, so that order be taken that the mansion-house be well defended, as it was before; and so they may dig in the ruins and decays

of any house or buildings, which are not preserved for the necessary habitation of men.

'They ought to make the places, in which they dig, so well and commodious to the owner as they were before.

'They ought to work in the possession of the subject, but betwixt sun-rising and setting; so that the owner may make fast the doors of his house, and put it in defence against misdoers.

'They ought not to place or fix any furnace, vessels, or other necessaries in any house or building of the subject without his consent, or so near any mansion-house, as by it it may receive prejudice or disquiet.

'They ought not to continue in one place over the convenient time, nor to return again into the same place before convenient time (which is long time) be passed.'

Our opposite neighbours, with whom we are now happily on such friendly terms, and who do not disdain to copy whatever in our own institutions seems to have a sufficient recommendation, set us a good example in their regulations as to the formation of railways and other public works, adopting rather the broad maxims recognised by the Civil and Common Law than the artificial rules which our Private Bill system has gradually laid down for such purposes.

The course of proceeding in procuring the public sanction of a French railway is thus concisely shown in the evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, on Railway Acts Enactments, by Mr. Reed, a gentleman who appears to have shown his approbation of the French railway system by embarking very extensively in the undertakings which have been entered into under them.*

'51. The law for a French railway says that you shall make, for example, a railway from A. to Z. passing through B. C. D. E. F., and so on. The particular plan of the line has to be determined by the Board of Public Works, after the law has been obtained, after the Company have their Act. You are obliged to deposit with the *Ministre des Travaux publics* the plans for a certain length of the line within a certain time after the attainment of your law; besides the plan of the works, you are obliged to deposit a plan of the land, showing what land you will take. A copy of the different sections of this land is sent down to each commune which you pass through, after the line which you have designated shall have been approved by the superior authorities; in fact, as soon as it is known what is the particular land you require. This plan of the land is posted up at the *mairie* of the commune, and after a delay of a certain number of days, fourteen days, or something of that sort, what is called an inquest is held, which is composed of the *préfet*, or the *sous-préfet*, or

* Minutes of Evidence, § 51.

the *conseil* of the *préfet* of the department, the mayor of the place, and five or six gentlemen of the neighbourhood; the engineer of the company is also one of the tribunal itself, having a voice in this committee or jury, assembled for the purpose of this inquest, and any of the proprietors of the neighbouring communes, who think themselves aggrieved, come there, and state their grievance. If it is an unwise or unnecessary interference, or they conceive it to be so with their property, they there state it, and the *sous-préfet*, or the representative of the *sous-préfet* of the department sitting there, as the arbitrator, as it were, between the two parties, endeavours to reconcile the interests or the intentions of the company with that of the proprietors. Failing to do so, he determines that it is a question of compensation, and, therefore, to be left for a jury, or that it is a case to which it is necessary to draw the attention of the superior government, of the Minister of Public Works; and that is noted or not noted, as the case may be determined, upon the *procès-verbal* of the day's proceedings; but in the case of a jury for the assessing of the value of the damage done, there can be no hindrance given by any voice of the proprietor to the plan. That is a thing previously disposed of.'

In the United States of America special Railway Acts are done away with, and general enactments substituted, by which, on compliance with certain conditions, any number of persons, not less than twenty-five, may be incorporated, and undertake the formation of a railway. General provisions are made for the compulsory purchase of land, and the appointment of a Commission by the Supreme Court to assess the value, plans of the line being duly deposited with the clerks of the counties through which the line is intended to pass. In this way has the Government of the United States obviated the delays, the expenses, and abuses of Railway Acts, and thrown open such enterprises to general competition.

In imitation in some degree of these simple proceedings adopted in France and America, the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Private Bills, in 1846, recommended that,—

'In cases in which only *ordinary* powers are sought, means should be afforded to the parties of carrying their projects into execution, under the authority and supervision of one of the Public Boards or Departments, *without the necessity of applying to Parliament.*

'That for this purpose Public General Acts should be passed on the several subjects of sewage and waterworks, paving, lighting, police and watching, markets, and every other class of private bills, excluding those which are in their nature personal, on a principle similar to that which has been already carried into effect by the 3 & 4 Will. 4. c. 90., for lighting in England; by the 9 Geo. 4. c. 82., for lighting, &c., in Ireland; and by the 3 & 4 Will. 4., c. 46., for police in Scotland.

'That every such Public General Act should set forth the conditions on which any *corporation, parish, company, or other parties,* may be invested with the powers conferred by such General Act, and should also specify the Public Board or Department of the Government under whose authority such powers are to be conferred; such Boards and Departments being the Home Office, the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the Inclosure Commissioners, or others, as the case may be.

'That amongst the provisions so to be specified in each Public General Act, the following seem to be expedient; namely,

'That a memorial, for authority to put in force the powers of the Act, be presented to the proper Board or Department.

'That such memorial shall state the objects of the promoters; the public utility of the measure; the local situation of the work; the estimated expense; the means by which the necessary funds are to be raised, and the periods over which the charges or repayments are to be distributed.

'That within a limited time, similar information on these points shall be given to all parties interested, and to the neighbourhood, in the manner required by the Standing Orders in the case of Private Bills; and that a printed copy of such memorial, together with plans and sections, estimates, subscription contracts, and all other appropriate information, shall, in a similar manner, be lodged at the office of some local functionary; and that duplicate copies of the same documents be likewise lodged with the Department at the same time.

'That all parties interested shall be permitted, within a given time, to lodge, for public inspection, in the office of the local functionary, written suggestions, objections, or amendments to the measure proposed, which shall in due time be forwarded to the Department.

'That the Department shall thereupon depute one or more qualified inspectors (at the expense of the promoters) to proceed to the locality, and there, after due notice,

'1st. To inquire, in open Court, whether the provisions of the Public General Act as to notices, deposit of documents, and all other legal requirements, have been duly complied with.

'2ndly. To inquire as to the merits of the case, both by evidence in open Court, and by personal inspection.

'And then to make a written report on both points to the Department.

'That the Department, exercising its discretion on both the above points, shall thereupon determine whether authority shall be given for the exercise of the powers of the Act; and, if so, upon what terms and conditions; and that such authority be conferred by a legal document, according to a form to be appended to the Act; but that in any case in which private property may appear to the Department to be seriously interfered with, such authority shall be withheld, and the parties be left to the ordinary mode of proceeding by application to Parliament.'

Despite the outcry against 'Centralisation' the public feeling in this country is getting every year more strong in favour of efficient government in every department,—of the establishment of system even at the cost of individual independence,—the strong authority of one responsible Court in lieu of the uncurbed tyranny of innumerable boards of directors.

With regard to railways and canals, we have the decided opinions of Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament that the entire control, both over existing works and new schemes submitted for public sanction, should be vested in a responsible Board, competent to secure at once justice to individuals and due encouragement to enterprise, and to protect the interest of the community.

'The system of railways and canals (says the Report of the House of Commons Amalgamation Committee of 1846) is now become so extensive, and their relations amongst themselves are so complicated, that no enactments passed by Parliament for their government and regulation can provide for all contingencies, or be properly carried into effect, unless by the aid of some more efficient machinery than any which exist at the present moment. After mature consideration, your Committee have come to the conclusion, that it is absolutely necessary that some department of the executive government, so constituted as to command general respect and confidence, should be charged with the supervision of railways and canals. Your Committee entertain, no doubt, that a department so constituted might, in addition to these duties, afford material assistance to Parliament in railway legislation.'

The House of Lords Committee on Railways of the same Session report that,—

'Having had these various matters under their consideration, seeing the evils of the existing system, they recommend the establishment of some department of the executive government on which should be imposed the duty of considering the whole existing system of railway communication through the country, the best means of perfecting it, and hereafter controlling the management by the various companies, in such a manner as to make the connexion between their different lines most conducive to the general advantage of the country, and most serviceable to its various local interests. They recommend that all propositions, or any scheme of railway, should, in the first instance, be submitted to this board, who should require the promoters to lay before them some general statement of its objects and advantages, and such evidences of their capability and *bonâ fide* intentions as might be deemed a sufficient guarantee on which to sanction further proceedings.'

The principle thus recognised by both Houses of Parliament with regard to railways and canals applies equally to all public

works, nor will a mere control over existing works suffice. Whenever the formation of railways, canals, and public works, and local improvements, is regulated by general law and not by special concession under discordant enactments for each separate occasion at the prayer of private persons, justice and public policy require that the existing mass of special laws should be consolidated. What has been said of one case may be applied to all. The great companies, any more than municipal corporations, have not been created by the 'unassisted efforts of 'their own members: they involve public interests, political and 'social, of the greatest magnitude; they owe their origin to the 'will of the Legislature, as expressed in the several Acts of 'Incorporation. Their existence has depended upon the Legis-'lature; and to that Legislature, therefore, they must be held in 'a peculiar degree responsible. They have been entrusted with 'privileges and powers almost without precedent; and it behoves 'Parliament, from time to time, to consider how those powers 'have been exercised, and whether the laws by which they are 'conferred may not require amendment.' We agree with the Committee of 1846, that 'all such inquiries should be con-'ducted, and all such amendments framed, in a spirit of caution 'and equity; with just consideration for the legal rights which 'Parliament has created, and with a due regard for the interests 'of those who have embarked their capital in these great enter-'prises, on the faith of existing laws.'

The labour of consolidation of so many thousand enactments would no doubt be very serious, but it is less impracticable than may at first appear. Parliament, in passing private statutes of a particular class, has generally professed to follow precedents. There would be little difficulty in deciding what general provisions should be applicable to Acts of a particular class, and the Municipal Corporation Act, the Poor Law Acts, and several other modern statutes, afford precedents of the work of consolidation of local laws and regulations being successfully carried out.*

But to recur to the subject of legislation for the future,—

* The necessity of consolidation of the Local Acts is strongly urged in a paper read before the Law Amendment Society, on the 11th December, by Mr. Pulling. We regret to hear that the Statute Law Board do not at present contemplate undertaking this labour. As remarked in the paper referred to, 'it will be of little service to 'give out a version of the general law to which there are to be ex-'ceptions in almost all large towns — in parishes and municipal 'districts without number, and under so many thousand special pro-'visions in local, personal, and private Acts.'

much valuable information has been afforded us to show the advantages of local investigations in point of saving time and expense over those which now take place in Select Committees. To prove compliance with the Standing Orders,—the service of notices,—to establish the preamble and support the lengthy clauses,—make out the cases of the various parties having a *locus standi*,—we are told that the almost incredible number of 400 witnesses have in some instances been brought forward; that counsel, solicitors, and parliamentary agents are employed without limit as to number or expense in order to ensure the personal attendance of some of the favoured few to whom the pressure of committee business affords so many other avocations. We have the best authority for saying that under a system of local examinations by competent persons, or district judges, commissioners or magistrates, the whole formal proofs could generally be given in half-an-hour; with local investigations, the aid of a few useful rules for general guidance, proper regulations as to the costs of frivolous applications and vexatious oppositions, the entire business of Private Bill Committees, which now absorbs so much of the time of Parliament, and which after all is hurried through in a most unsatisfactory way in order to *save the Session*, might be decorously and completely performed according to general law, and in accordance with common justice, in less than half the time and at hardly one-twentieth of the expense.

Such is the effect of the French system which has been already described. This is the course too, we believe, that takes place in Germany and in Belgium on projects for public undertakings after the same have been transmitted to the *Minister of Public Works* for his sanction. Similar proceedings also take place in the United States; and it is a remarkable circumstance that our own Common Law affords a precedent for the plan in the case of the ancient proceedings by *ad quod damnum*.

This old-fashioned proceeding, which is so rarely brought under the notice of even professional lawyers at the present day, that it appears to be almost forgotten, is prescribed by the Common Law and by various ancient statutes to prevent grants and concessions being made or powers exercised without a preliminary inquiry on the spot as to the injury or prejudice the Crown or the public would be exposed to thereby. Our law books show that this proceeding was not only necessary in the case of private persons seeking to obstruct or divert a public highway, but was designed to afford a security to the public against extraordinary grants or concessions by the Crown.

An *ad quod damnum* seems to have been necessary to ratify almost any extraordinary grant or concession from the Crown, as a warren, park, fair, highway, watercourse, &c.*, and the inquiry which the writ enjoined was into the whole truth and circumstances of the case, and the amount of damage or prejudice, if any, that the Crown, community, or private individuals would be exposed to by the plan contemplated. In direct opposition to the practice of Parliamentary Committees in bringing witnesses as to schemes for railways and public improvement away from the locality for which they are designed, the inquisition on an *ad quod damnum* was always required to be executed on the spot, and an intentional evasion of this rule, by getting the inquisition executed at a distance, has been solemnly decided to render the proceedings void.

Were a simple proceeding in the nature of an *ad quod damnum* now adopted in the case of railways and public works of a similar kind, there could be little difficulty in so providing that one and the same inquiry should suffice to decide on the right to enter on private property, and the amount of compensation to be given to the owner, either party having the option of calling in a compensation jury. Such a regulation would effectually put a stop to much of the dishonourable bartering with railway companies, for terms, under the threat of Parliamentary opposition, that our present system encourages.

Mr. Baxter, from whose evidence we have already quoted, recommends one permanent judicial tribunal for the numerous Select Committees formed under the present system.

'You have now,' says Mr. Baxter, 'practically to take your chance of your Committee. Sometimes you have a Committee of excellent men of business, and who are capable of presiding either at the Quarter Sessions or at a Committee, and who conduct the proceedings somewhat strictly according to the rule of evidence; but in other cases you are not so favourably circumstanced. The counsel become irregular, of course the proceedings become irregular; you are asked for what you did not expect to be asked for, and you are refused a hearing for that which you expected to be heard, and so confusion, expense, and delay are caused. When you are asked for what you are not prepared to expect, an adjournment takes place, or some means are adopted of procrastinating the inquiry till you can procure the information; and if you are refused what you thought would have been heard, some other means are taken to bring the same information before the Committee, which need not otherwise have been resorted to. Therefore it must be, I think, considered that the character of the tribunal bears very much upon the regularity or

* A number of authorities for this are to be found in Viner's Abridgment, title *Ad quod Damnum.*

irregularity of the counsel, upon the length of the proceedings, and upon the expenses which are entailed upon the parties. If the two Houses could be induced to consent to form a joint tribunal, that tribunal to be in immediate and constant communication with the Railway Board, there then would be formed a judicial body for all railway cases, not only competent to deal with them, but much more so than any other that could be devised. The Bill would be considered in Committee in both Houses at once, so that the delays of the third reading and subsequent stages would be very little. It would enable you to begin, perhaps, in March, and to extend to July the period of inquiry. The best means of information would be at hand at the Railway Board; the very best judgment would be exercised upon the subject of railways by the Committee taking the evidence; Committee after Committee would take the same course of practice; they would exclude every thing that they considered irrelevant; they would shorten the speeches of counsel, and the examination and cross-examination of witnesses; and such a system would work in every way not only more cheaply, but more satisfactorily, to the parties.'

The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Private Bills, in 1846, recommended a preliminary local investigation to be adopted whether the special sanction of Parliament were under the peculiar circumstances of any particular case required or not.

The regulations they recommended as to Private Bills were:—

'That all applications for such Bills should, previously to the Session of Parliament, be referred to the proper board or department, as above; and,

'That such department should appoint one or more inspectors to proceed to the spot to take evidence, both as to compliance with the Standing Orders, and upon the merits of the measure, in the manner above recommended, and to make a separate report upon each of these points; such reports to be referred respectively to the Committee on Standing Orders and to the Committee on the Bill. If, as would be most desirable, the House of Lords should think proper to adopt a similar course of proceeding, the same inspectors might report to both Houses.

'That the Committee are of opinion that such local investigation would be of incalculable advantage,—

'1st. In diminishing the great expenses now incurred by parties for the attendance of agents and witnesses in London.

'2ndly. In saving a large portion of the time of the members of the House, now consumed in the Sub-committees on petitions for Private Bills, and in the Committees on Bills; and,

'3rdly. In supplying to Committees on Bills that local and trustworthy information which under the present system appears to be so much wanted.'

The resolutions of the House of Lords passed at the instance

of Lord Brougham, in the same Session (with the entire concurrence, as we are given to understand, of the late Duke of Wellington), accord in the main with these recommendations of the Committee of the Lower House. These resolutions, however, declare that it is 'inexpedient for Parliament or either 'of the Houses thereof, to abdicate its functions and privileges 'in respect of private legislation; but on the contrary, that 'both the Houses ought jealously to retain their undoubted 'power of deciding upon every proposed enactment, and of 'assenting or dissenting from such proposal.'

To preserve these privileges unimpaired, Lord Brougham proposes that the Court or Board to which the investigation of the merits of Private Bills should be referred, should be supplied by the Crown apart from and independent of the High Court of Parliament, but that its members should 'be removable by joint 'address of both Houses.' The Board or Court thus constituted it is recommended should consist of five members so remunerated 'that the Crown may always obtain the aid of the most respect-'able members of the legal profession constituting it;' and the resolutions then recommend a number of minor regulations by which the evil practices of the Select Committee system may be got rid of, and many of the improvements we have already suggested may be carried out, viz.: —

'15. That each House, upon receiving any Bill, and giving it a first reading, may refer it to the Court before whom parties shall be heard, and which shall have the powers of a Court of Record with respect to oaths, process, and commitment, and the power of deciding all questions of law, subject to an opinion of one of the four Courts in Westminster Hall, in case it shall think fit, and of calling in the aid of a jury on any disputed fact, provided both parties shall agree in asking such issue, and provided the Court shall think fit to grant it.

'16. That each member of the Court shall have power to try all matters, and go through the whole consideration of any Bill, so as aforesaid referred by either House of Parliament, and to reserve, if either party require it, and he think fit, any question for the opinion of the whole Court, three whereof to be a quorum for this purpose, including the referring member of the Court; and that any question being raised on receiving or rejecting evidence, such member may proceed to dispose of it himself, saving, if he think fit, the objection as above provided, for the opinion of the Court.

'17. That juries, if an issue be required and allowed as aforesaid, shall be taken from the Special Jury Lists for the county of Middlesex, in such manner, and subject to such challenge, as in matters before the three Courts of Law of Westminster Hall.

'18. That each member of the Board or Court shall have the

power of giving costs to or against any party at his discretion, and that no review of his order on this matter shall be permitted.

'19. That each member of the said Board or Court shall, at his discretion, and with the consent of all parties, issue a commission for the purpose of taking evidence as to any disputed matter of fact involved in any Bill brought before such member, and that the whole expense of such commission shall be defrayed by the parties, under the direction of the member aforesaid.

'20. That the Bill, having been fully examined by such Court, or any member thereof, shall be reported to the House of Parliament by which it had been referred, together with such alterations or additions as may have been determined upon as just, fitting, or expedient; and that the said House shall then proceed with the consideration of the Bill so reported, and deal with it as such House shall think fit, either adopting the report, or rejecting it, or varying it, as to the wisdom of the House shall seem meet.

'21. That the only stage to be omitted by such House on passing such reported Bill shall be the Committee and the Report.

'22. That if any party shall oppose such reported Bill before either House, it shall be in the power of the House before which such opposition shall be offered, to award the costs of resisting such opposition, to be paid by such opposing party to the other party or parties.

'23. That it shall be lawful for the Court or Board, by a majority of its members, to make rules and regulations for its proceedings, a copy whereof shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within one week after their being framed, or, if in vacation time, within one week after the commencement of the ensuing Session, and that such rules and regulations shall be deemed and taken to be valid for guiding its proceedings, unless either House of Parliament shall make any resolution against them, or any part thereof, which resolution shall be imperative on the said Court or Board, and new rules shall be made by it in compliance with such resolution; the new rules to be laid before both Houses, as before, within one week after they are framed, and these new rules shall be valid to regulate the proceedings of the said Court or Board, unless and until a resolution of the other House shall disapprove thereof in whole or in part.

'24. That the Court or Board shall have the requisite number of registrars and clerks to assist its members, under the superintendence of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.'

As Lord Brougham's resolutions profess to be framed with a view to preserve the privileges of Parliament, it is worth while considering whether such privileges in the case of Private Bills, are of any constitutional value. Parliament, in the exercise of its present powers with respect to Private Bills, unless it act in an odiously arbitrary manner, only varies the existing laws on recognised general principles. It is not, strictly speaking, acting in a legislative so much as in a judicial or administrative capacity. The wise precedent of abandoning such questionable

privileges has been over and over again recognised by Parliament, and by each of the great estates of the realm in its separate capacity. The Sovereign in her own person, like Parliament in its collective capacity, is placed by the Constitution *above the* law; but in no point are the honour, dignity, and well-being of both more securely preserved than in guaranteeing to the subject that justice and the general law of the land shall in all cases alike take its even course and be exclusively administered in regular tribunals and by competent and responsible Judges. Her Majesty in person consents in all cases to succumb to the law. The humblest subject has his practical remedy to demand justice at the foot of the throne. The Crown has for ages delegated ordinary judicial authority to independent Judges, and we have in modern times the peculiar case of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Not all members of that right honourable body, but the Judicial Committee alone, are by recent Act of Parliament invested with the functions of Judges, forming a Court composed of the most able Judges of the land, and appealed to as readily on all matters within its jurisdiction as the Courts at Westminster. So, too, the House of Lords has for a long period voluntarily delegated its judicial functions to the *Law Lords;* and the House of Commons in a branch of its constitutional power, that it has ever most tenaciously vindicated, in spite of all remonstrances, viz., the jurisdiction over questions of the due elections of members, has within the last eighty years gradually submitted to the trial of contraverted elections being regulated by a general law, and the inquiry into corrupt practices is by a recent statute given to independent Commissioners appointed by the Crown. In ancient times it must be recollected the private petitions of individuals to Parliament were submitted in the first instance to the *Receivers and Triers of Petitions,* the latter being the clerks or Masters in Chancery, &c., and the former high judicial dignitaries, the Chancellor, the Judges, and the Serjeants at Law, and other eminent persons, peers, and commoners, individually chosen for their responsibility and legal attainments; and to these great dignitaries the preliminary investigation of all petitions for interference on behalf of private persons were referred. It is remarkable that the practice of Parliament dispensing with preliminary inquiries, and entering at once on the consideration of petitions for Private Bills, originated in the unsettled period of Oliver Cromwell. The system of Private Bills which had so ominous an origin, thus imbibed one of its worst principles at a period when little difficulty existed in infringing on the constitutional boundary which separates the functions of the Legislature from

those of the Judge. Happy will it be if Parliament at length retrace its steps, and, in compliance with the real spirit of our Constitution, repudiate the assumption, in all cases and under any circumstances, of even the semblance of judicial power, confining itself to those great duties which the Constitution confers on it — the enacting general and just laws for the whole community.

The evils of our Private Bill legislation are not, however, confined to the cases where privileges, or exceptional rights, are conferred upon individuals and companies, and where the Legislature assumes a quasi-judicial function. There is a large class of cases in which Private Acts are not personal, but local; where a special law, in derogation of the general law of the land, is made for a single town, or parish, or other limited district.

The Local Turnpike Acts constitute a well-known branch of this species of Private Legislation. According to the general law of England, every public highway is a parochial charge, and is maintained by the rate-payers of the parish in which it is situated. The difficulty of adequately repairing the main lines of road in each of the parishes through which they successively passed, led, however, to the introduction of the system of tolls levied at turnpike gates upon the travellers. This system was not introduced systematically, or simultaneously, throughout the country, for any definite class of roads; it was established by Local Acts, procured at the discretion of the inhabitants of a district; by which certain specified roads were placed under the management of trustees, and a power was given to defray the expenses of them out of turnpike tolls levied at the rates fixed by Parliament. The earliest Local Turnpike Act was passed in the 15th of Charles II. (1663), and applied to the Great North Road from London to York, so far as it lay within the counties of Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. Other similar Acts were procured for other districts of highways, from time to time, after that date; but the system of Local Turnpike Acts did not become general until the latter half of last century. Thus, the county of Kent has 49 turnpike trusts, 7 of which obtained their first Act between 1700 and 1750; 30 between 1750 and 1800; and 12 in the present century. The county of Hants has 38 turnpike trusts, 2 of which obtained their first Act between 1700 and 1750; 26 between 1750 and 1800; and 10 in the present century. The system is, therefore, of comparatively modern creation.

By the Common Law, the rate-payers cannot borrow money upon the security of the highway rates. But the Local Turnpike Acts gave the trustees a power of borrowing money upon

the security of the tolls; a power which they used to a great extent, often beneficially, but sometimes imprudently and unnecessarily. The Local Turnpike Acts were always temporary, being in general for twenty or thirty years, and it was probably intended that the loans should be paid off before the expiration of this term. But as they contained no clauses requiring the trustees to pay off an annual proportion of their loans, and as the Acts were in general renewed as of course, the turnpike debts were often kept standing, without diminution, for a long series of years, notwithstanding the prosperous state of the trust. The consequence was that a vast load of debt was accumulated upon the turnpike trusts; and when the railway system was introduced, which nearly annihilated the traffic, and with it the toll revenue of some of the richest trusts, many of them became insolvent, and were unable to maintain their roads, and to pay their annual interest. The result of this state of things has been that the turnpike debt of England amounted in 1849 to 6,382,647*l.*, and that the unpaid interest upon that debt amounted at the same time to 1,587,010*l.* A similar state of insolvency, though to a less extent, has grown up under the same system in Scotland and Ireland. The present amount of local turnpike debt, with the arrears of unpaid interest upon the debt, the whole of which was contracted under the powers given by Private Acts, is shown in the following statement: —

	Bonded Debt.	Unpaid Interest.
Turnpike trusts, England and North Wales, 1852 - - -	£5,813,728	£1,126,507
South Wales - - -	Debt. £217,020*	
Scotland, 1851, including Bridge trusts - - - -	Bonded Debt. £1,614,897	£586,139
Ireland, 1852, including Bridge trusts - - - -	£62,985	£13,808
	£7,708,630	£1,726,454

Putting together the principal debt and the arrears of interest, the present debt of the turnpike trusts of the United Kingdom, contracted under the system of Private Bill Legislation, amounts to nearly 9,500,000*l.* The debt and arrears of the English and North Welsh Trusts amount to more than six times the amount of their present annual income, which may be

* Payable by annuity, which will partly cease in 1875, and altogether cease in 1879.

placed at 1,140,000*l.* The only part of the United Kingdom where the turnpike trusts are rescued from the dominion of Private Acts and placed under a General Statute, is South Wales; here a term is fixed for the extinction of the debt, and there are no arrears of interest.

The expense of procuring renewals of the temporary Turnpike Acts is felt so severely by the trusts, that, for some years past, the Government has resorted to the unusual course of bringing in an annual Bill for continuing all expired Local Turnpike Acts. In this manner temporary Local Acts were virtually perpetuated without inquiry. Of late years, however, certain trusts, whose financial state was bad, have been excepted, and have been brought before Select Committees, in order that their Acts might receive revision. Many advantageous settlements have thus been effected; but the great body of our Private Turnpike Acts is, nevertheless, at present in a state which cries loudly for some measure of systematic regulation by a general statute.

Another class of Local Acts which still remain in operation and create an exceptional system in certain districts, are those relating to the Relief of the Poor. About the end of the seventeenth century, the want of a more efficient mode of administration than that provided by the Act of 43 Eliz. began to be felt in many places. Local Acts, therefore, began to be sought and obtained, by which the executive was improved, the erection of a workhouse was authorised, or a union of parishes was effected. The first Local Act for the Relief of the Poor was applied for by the city of Bristol, and was passed in 1696. A few more received the sanction of the Legislature in the reigns of William, Anne, and the two first Georges; but the large majority were passed in the reigns of George III. and IV.* New Local Acts have not been granted since the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834; but twenty-three Unions and fourteen single parishes, containing a population of more then 2,000,000, still remain under local poor-law legislation. There are, likewise, fourteen incorporations under Gilbert's Act, which is now virtually a Local Act. So long as the Poor Law Act of 1834 was on its trial, and an uncertainty existed as to its success, it might be advisable to maintain these Local Statutes in derogation of the general law; but now that the policy of this Act is generally recognised, and has been made

* A detailed history of the Local Poor Law Legislation may be seen in Mr. Twisleton's Report on Local Acts, in the 9th Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners (1843), p. 90—119.

the foundation of the Poor Law introduced into Ireland, these peculiar jurisdictions ought no longer to be tolerated, and we trust that they will be shortly swept away.

Local legislation, by means of Private Acts, often grows out of the defective state of the general law. Parliament prefers the tinkering work of special and exceptive legislation, to the enactment of a comprehensive statute which shall contain provisions suited to all varieties of circumstances. The Local Poor Law Acts just mentioned had their origin in this cause: they were partial, unconnected, and imperfect attempts to supply the defects of the general law; useful when they were passed, mischievous now that the general law is amended. The Metropolis at this moment suffers extensively from a similar system of heterogeneous Private Bill Legislation, rendered necessary by the want of adequate general enactments in the Statute Book. The Metropolis, according to the boundaries of the Registrar General, contained, in 1851, a population of 2,362,236, an area of 78,029 acres, and 305,933 inhabited houses; of which the proportion falling to the City of London proper is a population of 129,128, an area of 723 acres, and 14,693 inhabited houses. Now the City of London alone has a municipal corporation; and therefore by far the largest part of the Metropolis, comprising 17-18ths of the population, and more than 99-100ths of the area, is without municipal institutions. Outside the boundaries of the City, therefore, the streets of London are left to the operation of the general law; and the general law makes no difference between streets and other highways. Unless, therefore, a Private Act was obtained, Piccadilly and the Strand, Oxford Street and Holborn, would be repaired merely as parish highways: the parishioners must appoint a surveyor, and make a highway rate. The general law, moreover, gives no powers for lighting; so that without Private Bill Legislation the whole of the Metropolis outside the City would be unlighted. This state of things has called into existence a vast number of Special Acts for lighting, paving, cleansing, and other municipal objects in the Metropolis; the number of which is calculated by one of the witnesses before the late City Commission at not less than 700 (*Pulling*, 1936.). In the parish of St. Pancras alone there are seventeen independent Paving Boards, created by thirty separate Local Acts; and the powers even of all those Boards do not extend over the entire parish. These Metropolitan Private Local Acts form a perfect chaos of legislation; hatched by a thousand parish attorneys, and embodying all sorts of crude ideas and intricate compromises of petty local interests, in which the public advantage

is often a secondary object. We trust, from statements which have recently been made public, that this highly anomalous and objectionable state of things has attracted the serious attention of the Government, and that we may owe to the new President of the Board of Health a measure which will introduce some order into this wilderness, and will place the Metropolis on a footing of equality, in respect of legislation, with other large towns possessing the advantage of municipal institutions.

If the preceding remarks are well founded, the system of Private Bill Legislation ought to be viewed by the public with jealousy and disfavour, and all attempts to extend its operation ought to be discouraged and repressed. Where it is introduced for local purposes, it is often a partial and imperfect attempt to remedy defects in the general law, which might be removed by a properly constructed public measure; such, for instance, as the General Inclosure Act, which has obviated the necessity for Private Enclosure Bills. Where it is introduced for personal objects, the procedure is often rather of a judicial than of a legislative character, and involves an amount of vexation, delay, and expense, which is detrimental to the community, and discreditable to Parliament. Whenever an endeavour is made to perpetuate the reign of Private Bill Legislation, and to obstruct measures intended to substitute general for special procedure, it is fair to presume that the resistance is dictated by motives of personal interest opposed to the public welfare.

ART. VII. — 1. *Mount Athos, Thessaly, and Epirus: a Diary of a Journey from Constantinople to Corfu.* By GEORGE FERGUSON BOWEN, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. 1852.

2. *Journals of a Landscape Painter in Albania, &c.* By EDWARD LEAR. 1851.

3. *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters.* By the Right Hon. the Earl of CARLISLE. London: 1854. 8vo.

THE two first of these works take us out of the beaten track of Oriental tourists: we can speak of both in terms of high commendation; and to a certain extent their characteristic excellences are identical. Both the writers are ardent lovers of nature, and have a keen eye for fine scenery, as well as for 'the picturesque of man and man.' Both entertain us with sallies of good-natured pleasantry, while they have successfully resisted the disposition to outrageous flippancy, which constitutes

a serious temptation to Eastern travellers in general. But they differ in the precise manner that we might have anticipated: one writes like a skilful artist, and the other like a scholar and a student of history.

Mr. Lear is the author of the 'Illustrated Excursions in 'Italy,' which came before the world a few years since. His present work is on a smaller scale both in a literary and in an artistic point of view. The illustrations in the volume before us do not pretend to the finish and delicacy observable in his Italian works. The smaller size of an octavo volume, and the cheaper price, compelled the artist to adopt a less assuming form of illustration. Still it seems to us that the main object of the representations is gained by their universal fidelity to character. They do not portray scenes whose distances are in one country and climate, while their foregrounds are in another; nor are the accompanying details and figures such as could be found anywhere but in the landscapes with which they are combined. Breadth of general effect, and poetical sentiment, together with strict adherence to the character of the places represented, are artistic qualities far more valuable in our estimation as aids to topographical recollections or descriptions, than higher finish or greater effort. Nevertheless in more than one of the lithographs a greater degree of delicacy in the tints would not have lessened our pleasure in dwelling on the scenes of so magnificent a country; and we hope Mr. Lear will profit by our remarks, when, as we trust he will, he makes further use of the extensive and valuable materials which his *studio* contains, for an illustrated work on Greece in general.

Had it been possible, we would gladly have transferred to our pages the most pleasing specimens of the 'Landscape Painter's' pencil. But that cannot be done, and Mahomet must go to the Mountain. Some notice, however, of Mr. Lear's artistic excellence may be gleaned from his extremely vivid descriptions. We select the following ideal picture of Albanian scenery, in which its various characteristics are thrown together in a picturesque medley, somewhat after the manner of Turner's 'Modern Italy':—

'The general and most striking character of Albanian landscape is its display of objects, in themselves beautiful and interesting, rarely to be met with in combination. You have the simple and exquisite mountain-forms of Greece, so perfect in outline and proportion—the lake, the river, and the wide plain; and withal you have the charm of architecture, the picturesque mosque, the minaret, the fort, and the serai, which you have not in modern Greece, for war and change has deprived her of them; you have that which is

found neither in Greece nor in Italy—a profusion everywhere of the most magnificent foliage, recalling the greenness of our own island—clustering plane and chestnut, growth abundant of forest oak and beech, and dark tracts of pine. You have majestic cliff-girt shores; castle-crowned heights, and gloomy fortresses; palaces glittering with gilding and paint; mountain-passes such as you encounter in the snowy regions of Switzerland; deep bays, and blue seas with bright, calm isles resting on the horizon; olive-clothed slopes, and snow-capped mountain-peaks;—and the with a crowded variety of costume and incident such as bewilders and delights an artist at each step he takes.' (Pp. 4, 5.)

Mr. Bowen, who was admirably qualified by extensive classical and historical reading, and above all by an intimate knowledge of Modern Greek, acquired during his four years' residence at Corfu as President of the Ionian University, has executed his task with skill and judgment. Some defects which appear on the surface of the work, are to be regarded as essential parts of its generic character. An occasional looseness of composition, and an overflowing facility of citation, blemishes in a more formal work, are pardonable, and evidences of reality, in a *bonâ fide* diary. The book has solid merits more than sufficient to counterbalance these external disadvantages, and such as give hopes for the future. A well-stored mind, and an observant eye, cannot fail to produce results of greater pretensions and importance. We shall probably award the author the highest commendation of a traveller, by saying that he has left us with distinct impressions of the scenes depicted by him.*

Mr. Lear made repeated attempts to visit Mount Athos, and was repeatedly foiled. Fortunately for us, the deficiency has been supplied by Mr. Bowen, who has devoted some of the most valuable chapters of his work to the Holy Mountain, and its monasteries. One of the main objects of his labours was 'to 'supply full and strictly accurate information with regard to 'the discipline and present state of the Greek monasteries' (p. 3.); and we feel that we shall at once second his design and enable our readers to form a just estimate of his work, by presenting them with a detailed description of that singular spot, gathered from his pages, and from those of other travellers.

The southern peninsula of Macedonia, the ancient Chalcidice,

* We may be allowed to add that 'the author has presented his 'share of any profits which may arise from the sale' of his work 'to 'the Fund for Colonial Bishoprics, to which are paid also the profits 'of the "Colonial Church Chronicle,"' in which a portion of the Diary was originally printed.

terminates to the south in three subordinate peninsulas. It is with the most eastern of these, known by the ancient name of Acte, and in modern times by that of the Hagion Oros, or Monte Santo, that we are immediately concerned. The name of Athos, commonly applied to it by English writers, belongs properly to 'the high Pique, or Peer,' (as the Consul Rycaut calls it *), which rises abruptly from its south-eastern extremity, although it makes part of the formal title of the religious community which inhabits it.† The entire peninsula is about thirty miles in length, and six miles and a half at its greatest width: its general bearing is from north-west to south-east: the extremity points in the direction of Lemnos. The isthmus uniting it to the mainland is both low and narrow, scarcely exceeding a mile in breadth; while a slight alteration in the level of the Ægæan would have cut off Acte from the Macedonian shore, and made its inhabitants by nature what, as Herodotus quaintly phrases it, they became by art, 'an insular instead of a 'continental people.'‡ Not that the isthmus is a dead level: it is more correctly described by the historian just cited, as 'plain grounds with hills of no great size.' These hills do not at any point rise more than one hundred feet above the sea, while the bed of a valley which intersects them from gulf to gulf, is little more than clear of the water.

From this point the peninsula widens out, and begins by throwing out a long, narrow, spur-like promontory to the north. Beyond this, some ten miles from the isthmus, the coast-line recedes into a bay on either side, and again dilates, until it terminates in two bold forelands to the south and south-east. The former is Cape St. George, the ancient Nymphæum; the other, now generally known as Cape Monte Santo, is in all probability the site of the ancient town of Acrathos, or Acrothoi. Pierre Belon, a French traveller of the sixteenth century, compares the ground-plan of the whole peninsula to the figure of a man lying supine, with his feet towards the shore, and his hands extended above his head § He considers that when it was contemplated to form the mountain into a statue of Alexander the Great, nature had half done the work of art. If this be so, the town which the hero was to hold in

* 'Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches.' London, 1697, p. 217.

† Ἡ Ἱερὰ Κοινότης τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Ἄθω.

‡ Herod. vii. 22.

§ Petri Bellonii Rerum Singularium Observationes, 1553, ed. Latinè, 1589, p. 82.

his right hand must have been that of Acrathos, the river to be poured from his left must have been the stream which, now divided into innumerable runnels, irrigates the steep vineyards cultivated by the laborious ascetics of St. Anne.

The low undulating ground of the isthmus is fenced out by a steep ridge, running across the peninsula, and properly constituting its boundary. Here, says Mr. Bowen,—

'A few soldiers of the armed body which the holy community keeps in its pay are stationed to keep out robbers, women, and female animals of all kinds. No mare, cow, she-cat, hen, &c., has been, from immemorial custom, admitted into the precincts of the holy mountain.' (P. 59.)

From hence the outline of the mountain rises gradually, and in the main continuously, until it suddenly attains its maximum elevation near the southern extremity. It consists of a central ridge, supported on either side by projecting ranges with deep valleys intervening. This, as it rises towards the peak of Athos, gradually draws nearer to the western shore, which is accordingly more abrupt and precipitous than the eastern one. The latter, on the other hand, is necessarily more broken in outline, has more extensive and fertile valleys, with a greater amount of shelter for timber. The inland parts, if so narrow a slip of land can be said to have any,—the sloping sides, that is, of the narrow valleys,—are well-cultivated, rich, and smiling. The principal valley is that of the Caryæ, near the centre of the peninsula, and descending to the great monastery of the Iberians. It has on its right bank the dorsal ridge of the mountain, on its left a range of scarcely inferior height, separating it from the woody vale of Batopedion. Athos itself, a magnificent cone, with its summit slightly rounded *, rises sheer from the sea to the altitude of nearly seven thousand feet, and sends out spurs to the east and south, forming the two capes which terminate the peninsula in this direction. The lower part of the mountain consists of gneiss and clay-slate, which appear about the southern promontory of St. George; the superincumbent mass is a primitive marble, white, or greyish white, which gives the highest peak a singular and striking effect by rising bare above the woody and bosky steeps, and being brought out into strong relief by the deep shadows which lie in its multitudinous crevices. The ascent of Athos may be made from the monastery of Laura, which lies at its foot, in

* Belon likens it to a pear. (P. 97.) The epitomiser of Strabo calls it ὄρος μαστοειδὲς, ὀξύτατον, ὑψηλοτατον. P. 331, ed. Gesner.

about seven hours,—six hours, that is, on the back of a mule, and the remainder, which is only accessible to bipeds feathered or unfeathered, as you best can. The laboriousness of the undertaking, and the uncertainty of obtaining a view, have deterred most travellers from the task, Mr. Bowen among the rest. Indeed we have only been so fortunate as to discover two descriptions of the ascent; one by Belon, who saw from hence the isles of Sciathos, Scyros, Lemnos, Thasos, Samothrace, and Imbros*; and the other by the learned author of the 'Flora Græca,' who only saw a few sub-alpine plants.† John Commenus, a physician of Bucharest, to whom we are indebted for a minute description of Athos, written at the commencement of the last century ‡, asserts roundly that the adventurous traveller, or pious pilgrim, who climbs to the summit, may behold both Constantinople and the Cyclades, in utter violation of all geographical possibility §; exactly as the epitomiser of Strabo has insulted the sister science of astronomy, by reporting that the sun shines upon the summit three hours before it can be seen from the shore.‖ Yet Colonel Leake considers that 'with 'a clear sky, the principal Macedonian and Thracian summits, 'Mount Ida, the Eubœan mountain Ocha, Dirphe, and Tele-'thrium, and the Thessalian summits Othrys, Pelion, and 'Ossa, might all be connected by the sextant, and possibly the 'Bithynian with the Macedonian Olympus.' ¶

It is a vain endeavour to depict the natural features of the peninsula, without telling the reader something about its clothing. The hill-sides and upland levels are covered with forests of oak, beech, and chestnut, the latter generally occupying the higher positions. At a still higher elevation, the central ridge, the southern portion of it, at all events, is crested by a belt of pines, from which the peak of Athos rises abrupt and naked. The eastern shore is also partially clothed with pines at the end nearest to the isthmus, although the ground is for the most part devoid of timber in that quarter. Both on Athos and on the neighbouring mainland planes grow beside the streams. They are frequently of enormous size, so large that the monks were

* P. 97.

† Dr. Sibthorpe's 'First Voyage in the Grecian Seas,' 1787; published in Walpole's 'Travels in various Countries of the East,' p. 40.

‡ *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ ἁγιόυ ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος, κ.τ.λ., σπουδῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ τοῦ ἐξοχωτάτου ἰατροῦ κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομμηνοῦ· ἵνα δίδωται χάρισμα τοῖς εὐσεβέσι διὰ ψυχικὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν.* Published in 1701, and reprinted in 1708 by Montfaucon, Palæographia Græca, lib. vii.

§ Palæogr. Gr. p. 452. ‖ Strabo, p. 331.

¶ Tour in Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 128.

accustomed, as lately as the sixteenth century, to hollow out their boles for fishing canoes.* It was probably thus that they learned their present practice of building boats where they fell the timber, and dragging them ready made to the sea.† The wood is most abundant along the eastern shore, from the greater shelter afforded by the valleys; and there are considerable forests on the opposite side, whenever the hills recede from the sea. The south-western promontory is nearly bare, the natural result as well of its extreme abruptness, as of its exposure to the midday sun. In some parts of the mountain the forest has been cleared, leaving open park-like pastures, dotted with solitary trees; in others, the timber trees are mixed with, or give way to, underwood, chiefly evergreens, as the ilex, bay, and arbutus andrachne. The vine, fig, and olive are extensively cultivated, and principally in the immediate neighbourhood of the monasteries. Pot-herbs of all kinds are raised, and a little Indian corn, but the ordinary cerealia are nearly unknown, and the grain which is consumed is almost wholly imported. There are orangeries at Batopedion, and peach-gardens at Caryæ; and the hazel is so abundant in the vicinity of the latter place, as to have given name to it: its fruit, as all Mr. Curzon's readers know, forms one of the principal export commodities of Athos.

It is probable that a much larger proportion of the land would have been cleared and turned into pasture, had there been an effectual demand for it. But as the consumption of animals is checked by the rigid rule by which the monks are forbidden to eat flesh, so it is needless to say that their production is prevented by the equally rigid rule which excludes all things feminine from the peninsula. It is popularly believed that no animal of that sex can live upon it; but neither divine nor human prohibitions can keep out the *feræ naturæ*: 'rats and mice,' says Colonel Leake, and even smaller deer, as Mr. Bowen can bear witness, 'multiply and devour them: and 'they are obliged to confess their obligations to the queen bee, 'without whose assistance they would be deprived of one of 'their staple productions.'‡ But wild animals of far greater dignity roam and, we presume, breed in the forests. The stag and roe-buck, the fox and wild cat, the wild boar and the hare, are in the list of the Fauna presented to Dr. Sibthorpe less than sixty years ago; but bears and wolves were, and, it is to be supposed, are still wholly unknown.§ Bullocks, chiefly of an

* Belon, p. 84. † Leake, Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 130.
‡ Leake, Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 135.
§ Walpole's Travels, p. 439.

iron gray breed, rams, and he-goats, are brought from the monastic granges on and without the isthmus to feed on the mountains or browse the underwood, and, on rare occasions, one of them is killed for the benefit of an exiled patriarch, an invalid Caloyer, a Turk, or a visitor. Caryæ, the village-metropolis, can hardly support a regular butcher, and certainly cannot be plagued with a Smithfield. An unexpected guest, whose appetite has been whetted by the keen sea and mountain air, cannot hope with any confidence for an extemporaneous chop or steak, and must generally be contented with a monastic cock, hardened in involuntary celibacy, or a brace of the wild pigeons which haunt the mountains, descendants, it may be, of the very breed which, as Ælian would have us believe, first appeared there in the storm which dashed to pieces the ill-starred fleet of Darius.* Dogs are kept for security, and tom-cats for amusement. Mules are the ordinary beasts of burden, and probably slip in as neuter, epicene, or doubtful.

Not less singular than this strange region are the persons and habitations of its occupants, for natives they are not. The monasteries, properly so called, are twenty in number, and are dispersed over every part of the peninsula.† These have their several estates, both within the territory of Athos and elsewhere; they have each the right of self-government, as well as a share in the government of the community. But besides these, there is a class of religious houses subordinate to the others, and without any independent corporate existence. These are called Asceteria (*ἀσκήτηρια* or *μονίδια*), and are subject to one or other of the principal monasteries, being governed by an officer (*δικαῖος*) appointed by them. They answer in this re-

* Ælian, H. V., i. 15.; Athenæus, ix. 11.

† On the eastern shore, beginning at the isthmus, are Chiliantariu, Sphigmenu, Batopedion with its dependent asceterion of St. Demetrius, Pantocrator, the asceteria of St. Elias and St. Basil, Stauroniceta, Iberon with its asceterion of St. John Baptist, Philotheu, Caracalla, Mylopotamus in ruins, and Laura at the south-eastern point. Dependent on Laura, and adjoining it, are the asceteria of St. Paul, St. Demetrius, St. Antony, St. Peter of Athos, St. Gregory Palamas, Cerasia, Capsocalybia, and St. Anne, the last occupying the south-western headland. Proceeding hence along the western shore, we have St. Paul, St. Dionysius, St. Gregory; Simopetra with its asceterion of the Trinity, Xeropotamus, the Russians', with its asceterion of St. Mary, Xenophon with a dependent asceterion, and Dochiariu. Inland, between Chiliantariu and the last-named monastery, are Zographu and Castamonitu, and near Caryæ, in the centre of the peninsula, is Cutlumush.

spect to the cells and priories depending on the great abbeys in the Western Church. To the monasteries and their dependent asceteria must be added an innumerable quantity of cells and hermitages (κελλεῖα) grouped round the asceteria, clustered together, or standing solitary, in almost every part of the holy mountain. Colonel Leake estimates them at not less than three hundred.* All these are inhabited solely by the monks or caloyers (καλόγεροι) and their lay-servants, or, to speak more literally, *seculars* (κοσμικοί). A large proportion of the caloyers commence their career in the latter capacity, and are afterwards admitted into the monasteries, on condition of giving their labour for the good of the community. Those, however, who bring with them such a contribution as is regarded as a fair equivalent for labour, are freed from the obligation to menial service. The sum which entitles them to this privilege is variable, but appears at present to be equivalent to about 16*l.* The small proportion of the monks who enter into holy orders belong principally to this class; and their onerous ritual duties occupy their time as completely, and are as effectual a bar to mental cultivation, as the physical labour of their more humble brethren.

The monks are divided into three progressive classes: on entering the monastery they undergo a novitiate (ῥασοφορία) of three years; from which they advance to the degree of the Lesser Habit (τὸ μικρὸν σχῆμα or μάνδιον), and, in rare instances except at the hour of death, to that of the Greater Habit (τὸ μέγα καὶ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα). The Lesser Habit, although practically the condition in which they pass their lives, is properly regarded as prospective, and the caloyer who is invested with it is expressly stated to receive it as an earnest of the Greater Habit. On admission the candidate pledges himself to abide perpetually in the monastic life, in celibacy, temperance, and piety, in obedience to the superior and to all the brotherhood. On admission to the highest order he repeats the same vows, and adds a solemn renunciation of 'the world and the things 'that are therein, according to the commandment of the Lord.' He is then invested with the cowl, and scapular, or analabus,—the latter in token of his *taking up* the cross.†

The discipline is severe, the services long and laborious. Mr. Bowen says: —

'The services in the churches of Athos last six or seven hours *every day;* and on great festivals or fasts, eleven or twelve hours, or

* Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 134.

† Goar, Rituale Græcorum, pp. 468—519.

even more, out of the twenty-four. The monks never sleep more than five or six hours; going to their cells at eight or nine in the evening, they are aroused at two A.M. to early prayers by the beating of the sounding-board (*σήμαντρον*). They never taste flesh-meat at all; on 159 days in the year they have but one meal, and at this eggs, cheese, wine, fish, milk and oil are forbidden them (though allowed on the remaining days), and their diet consists merely of vegetables and bread boiled in water. On no day have they more than two meals.' (P. 67. note.)

The monasteries are not governed by special statutes, but in accordance with the general laws of the Greek Church. Their original constitution, still retained by ten of them, is very simple. They are under the absolute authority of a Superior, or Hegumen, in whom their property and corporate rights are vested. He is elected by the monks, and confirmed by the Patriarch. He is inaugurated by a Bishop with considerable circumstance by imposition of hands, enthronisation, and delivery of a pastoral staff.* The monks have all things in common, and take their meals together in the refectory. At Xenophu they have also a common dormitory.

The monasteries which have this primitive arrangement have also the ancient name of Cœnobia. But in Athos and elsewhere the rigidity of the cœnobitic life has been relaxed in the case of a large number of the monasteries, including some of the largest and most important. Ten of those on the peninsula have suffered this change, and bear the name of Idiorrhythma. They are not, as might be inferred from the name, governed by the monastic rule of Rabelais, *Fay ce que vouldras*, although their discipline must be somewhat easier than that of the others. The monks live in separate cells, and have commons of bread and wine issued to them; other articles of food they purchase for themselves. The refectories are only used on gaudy-days, as in Oxford by the canons of Christchurch. Their government is less absolute and more complicated. 'Here,' said the jolly monks of Iberon to Mr. Bowen, 'here we are constitutionalists, 'like you in England.' The office of Hegumen is put in commission, and administered by a variable number of Hegumens or Elders. At the head of these stand two annual officers called Epitropi, and a third, the Dicæus.

We are unable to state the exact period at which this change was effected. The latest foundations, with one exception, are still cœnobia; so that we may infer that the new system was introduced later than the fifteenth century. There are indications of the existence of idiorrhythmic houses at the close of the

* Goar, Rituale Græcorum, pp. 490-91.

sixteenth.* It is curious, and perhaps worthy of notice, that by far the majority of the present cœnobia are placed along the comparatively inaccessible western shore.

The population of the peninsula seems to have varied considerably. It is said that it was not wholly cleared of its secular inhabitants until several of the monasteries had been established. This is probable enough, as so entire a separation from the outer world is by no means essential to the cœnobitic system. At Megaspelæon, in Arcadia, described by Mr. Bowen in an introductory chapter, even females form part of the *ménage*, due regard being had (as in many of our college statutes) to their age and ugliness. The present system was firmly established before the fourteenth century, as appears from the florid and highly-wrought description of Athos by Nicephorus Gregoras.† In the sixteenth century the number of the monks is roughly estimated at 6000.‡ Rycaut gives the same number, and although he includes 'lay brethren' in his computation, it is clear from the context that he does not mean the κοσμικοί.§ He adds, however, that 2000 were always abroad, chiefly employed in begging. We can trace a decline in the numbers towards the beginning of the present century; and at present, says Mr. Bowen, the 'whole number of caloyers on Mount 'Athos does not exceed 3000 but it was much larger 'before the dilapidation of the revenues of the monasteries after 'the Greek revolution.' (P. 71.)

The number in the several monasteries varied in the seventeenth century from three to one hundred. Laura, which Belon calls *primaria*, had 300, and probably Batopedion had no less. Dr. Sibthorpe gives 600 as the full complement of Laura, but that number probably includes the non-residents. Dr. Hunt and Colonel Leake inform us that it contained 200 within its walls early in the present century. Dr. Hunt gives 500 as the number of Batopedion, and Colonel Leake 300; but in the former case half, in the latter more than half, were absent. Its numbers have now dwindled to 200; those of Laura, which has been impoverished by the confiscation of its Greek estates, to a much smaller number.‖

By far the greater part of the monks are engaged in manual labour. 'Some of us pray, and the rest work,' was the account

* Rycaut, p. 251.; Palæogr. Gr. p. 484.

† Niceph. Greg. Hist. Byz. xiv. 7. ‡ Belon, p. 79.

§ Rycaut, p. 249. Compare Goar, Rit. Gr. p. 120.

‖ Belon, p. 85.; Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. pp. 129—132.; Walpole's Travels, p. 39.; Memoirs, pp. 199—120.

they gave to Mr. Bowen. The chief part are employed in tillage, others exercise various handicrafts, and manufacture articles for home consumption. The asceterion of St. Anne contains all kinds of artisans, and seems to be a sort of ecclesiastical *phalanstère*. The monastic granges (*μετόχια*) on the mainland are cultivated by lay servants under the direction of caloyers; and in many places the monks are engaged in parochial duties, contrary to the general practice of the Eastern Church. Others undertake the lighter—and to an Oriental more congenial—duty of begging, an important part of the monastic revenues being derived from the voluntary contributions of the faithful abroad. The monks who are thus absent on various pretexts form a large proportion of the whole number, varying from one-third to one-half of the full complement in each monastery. Such occupations do not tend to foster a high state of cultivation, but leave the majority of the caloyers, as they find them, illiterate and superstitious peasants.

The buildings themselves are scarcely less strange to Western notions than the manners of life to which their inmates are devoted. They are invariably in striking positions, and the majority of them are close to the shore. In many instances they are of considerable size, and have more of a military air than is altogether consistent with our ideas of peaceful seclusion. Strong walls and lofty flanking-towers, with 'marvellous 'big guns,' as Commenus calls them*, may be excused by the impending danger of corsairs, but interfere somewhat with the character befitting the abode of a religious community. The buildings irregular and inharmonious, are generally arranged in one or more courts, the centre of which, contrary to the Western usage, is occupied by the principal churches. The great church is called the Catholicon, and in some of the monasteries has a duplicate—an arrangement rendered necessary in some instances by the use of both Greek and Sclavonian liturgies. In addition to these the monasteries possess numerous chapels (*παρακλήσια*) within or without them, corresponding to those which are attached, and add so much picturesque effect, to the minsters of Western Europe. The catholica are generally constructed on the same type. Four columns of marble or porphyry support the central dome, from which diverge the

* He tells us that Bastopedion possessed *λομπάρδας μεγάλας καὶ θαυμαστὰς καὶ μάλιστα μίαν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας*. Laura, too, had cannon as well for defence as to salute the superiors on landing *μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως*. Palæogr. Gr. pp. 452. 469. We believe that they have since been removed by the Turks.

four equal limbs of a Greek cross, crowned with a multitude of cupolas, and varied with side-chapels having apses and domical roofs. The altar occupies one extremity, and the limb assigned to it is cut off by a screen (*εἰκονόστασις*), enriched with carving and brilliant with gilding. The remaining limbs form the choir, no part of the building being strictly analogous to the nave, though the narthex, placed at the extremity opposite to the altar, corresponds to it in some respects. It is needless to say that a considerable portion of the monks' religious fervour evaporates in the cultus of relics, of which they possess great store, and some rather curious specimens among them. They have locomotive pictures, heads and members of all the saints in a pretty well-stocked calendar,—the head of St. Michael (?), the left hand of St. Mary Magdalen 'in good condition, diffusing 'an abundant and delightful odour,'* and the left foot of St. Anne—'a right marvellous and savoury relic,'† quoth honest John Commenus. The remaining objects worthy of notice are the refectory and the library, of which the latter have been fully described by Mr. Curzon. The refectory is generally of large size, and in some cases cruciform, and in more instances than one so placed that the door at its lower extremity is opposite to the catholicon. Accordingly, when the doors are open, a person sitting at the high-table commands a view of the altar. They are fitted up with numerous tables; at Laura there are twenty-four, of a horse-shoe form, with marble tops. Both the churches and refectories are painted within and without. Saints, philosophers, benefactors, virtues and vices, are the favourite subjects; and it is needless to say that the interior is accounted the more respectable position. Between the catholicon and the refectory there is commonly a laver of marble placed under an open cupola, the intrinsic value of which arises from its ritual use, but which considerably enhances the picturesque appearance of the quadrangles.

Caryæ, near the centre of the peninsula, is the only village on it, and as being the seat of the resident Turkish Aga, as well as of the federal Government of the mountain, may be dignified with the title of a metropolis. Commenus calls it 'a 'small yet sufficient city of monks.'‡ Not that it is exclusively

* Ἐκεῖ θέλεις ἰδῇ καὶ εὐλαβῶς ἀσπασθῇ τὸ ἀριστερὸν χερὶ τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς Μαρίας, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι ἀκέραιον πολλὴν καὶ παντερπνὸν εὐωδίαν ἐκπέμπον. Palæogr. Gr. p. 485.

† Λείψανον πανθαύμαστον καὶ εὐῶδες. Ib. p. 457.

‡ Εἶναι ὡσὰν μία μικρὰ πλὴν ἀρκετὴ πολιτεια μοναχική. Palæogr. Gr. p. 485.

inhabited by caloyers, as, in addition to the Aga and his guards, secular persons have been allowed to open shops there. It contains, however, cells or town-houses to lodge the representatives of the several monasteries, a council-chamber for the 'Sacred 'Synod,' and the Protaton or Metropolitan Church, apparently the most important ecclesiastical edifice on Athos. All European travellers who have visited Caryæ seem to have been struck by its wonderfully quiet and celibate appearance. No screaming women, no squalling children,— and, we wish we could add, no drunken men. Unfortunately, even sober Turks who are stationed there, learn the savour of the forbidden fruit, and reverse the salutation of the exiled Œdipus, *πήφων ἀοίνοις*. Dr. Hunt found an Aga there, who apparently thought it necessary to indemnify himself for the forced abandonment of his hareem. 'The monks,' says the traveller, 'seem to have been successful 'in converting him from one Mahometan prejudice at least, for 'he now drinks wine as freely as any Greek in the empire.'*

The chief duties of the Synod are to decide disputes between the several communities, to manage the common property, and to assess the taxes paid to the Turkish Government. These are levied according to an old schedule, perhaps the same which is given by Rycaut. This distributes the burdens to the several monasteries according to the number of their inmates at the time when it was drawn up, from which, however, great variations have taken place; so that many of the societies are very unfairly taxed. The assembly is thus constituted. Each of the twenty monasteries sends a deputy (*ἀντιπρόσωπος*). They are, however, divided into four groups of five each. Four presidents (*ἐπιστάται τοῦ κοινοῦ*) are nominated annually by the five groups in rotation, one from each of their component communities. The five principal monasteries, viz. Laura, Batopedion, Chiliantariu, Iberon, and St. Dionysius, are divided between the five groups, and their nominee for the time being takes precedence of the other presidents and deputies, with the title of Primate of Athos (Ὁ *πρῶτος τοῦ Ἄθωνος*). This was the designation of an officer, appointed by the patriarch, who governed the mountain, before the fall of Constantinople.† His jurisdiction seems, indeed, to have existed at the close of the seventeenth century, but even before that period had been

* Walpole's Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, p. 206.

† The MS. (Bibl. Coislin. Cod. ccxxiii.) inscribed *ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἄθωνος*, and suspected by Montfaucon to have been the property of the Laura, must have belonged to one of these dignitaries.

modified by the establishment of the Sacred Synod. That body consisted at first of the twenty deputies only. The deputies, like most officials who have got little to do, and can get any body else to do that little, left off attending to their work; so that in course of time the power was confined to the representatives of the five monasteries above mentioned, and at that time the largest on the mountain, and Cutlumush, then large, but since much reduced.* The present system, a compromise, like many constitutional reforms, between primitive equality and gradual usurpation, came into use in the last century.† This brings us to consider the general history of Athos, of which we have been anticipating a portion.

We can hardly wonder that the sublime elevation of Mount Athos attracted the attention and excited the imagination of the ancients, or that they entertained vastly exaggerated notions of its extent and altitude. It was known to the Hellenic mariner for ages before the first Eubœan colonist had planted his foot upon the barbarous shores of Thrace, and was to him what the Table Mountain was to Vasco de Gama and his adventurous messmates. Homer sings of it‡, and Æschylus, who probably hands down unaltered the heroic legend, fixes upon it as a link in the chain of signal-fires which announced to Argos the completion of the Trojan war.§ An obscure fragment of questionable authority appears to connect it in some way with the fabled rebellion of the Giants.‖ Nor was its celebrity diminished after it was partially brought within the pale of Grecian civilisation. Herodotus describes it as 'a great and notable 'mountain;'¶ it appeared to Virgil a fit and lively similitude for a stalwart hero**, and it stands as the representative of the snowy North in the pastoral songs of Sicily.†† Pliny believed the peninsula to extend seventy-five miles into the sea‡‡; and even in modern times the mountain has been estimated at no less than four miles in height §§, and ranked among the twelve principal mountains of the world.‖‖ Of old it was supposed to soar above the 'region of the rain-cloud¶¶,' and on a clear summer evening to cast its shadow to a distance of some eighty miles upon the brazen ox which adorned the market-place of

* Rycaut, p. 250.
† Ib. p. 253.
‡ Hom. Il. xiv. 229.
§ Æsch. Agam. 285.
‖ Nicander (?) apud Steph. Byz. in voc. "Αθως.
¶ Herod. vii. 22.
** Virg. Abr. xii. 701.
†† Theocr. vii. 77.
‡‡ Pliny, H. M. iv. 10.
§§ Pocock's Travels in the East, vol. iii. p. 145.
‖‖ Palæographia Græca, p. 452.
¶¶ Pomponius Mela, de Situ Orbis, ii. 2.; Solinus, Polyhist. ch. 16.

Myrina, in Lemnos. This palpable figment is as old as Apollonius of Rhodes*, and is seriously repeated by Pliny† and Solinus.‡ The summit was sacred to the monarch of the gods§, and covered by his altar and effigy.‖ It was believed in later times to have been the site of a town¶, and the assertion is repeated by a writer who supposed that it never rained there**, and who does not seem to have considered water as one of the necessaries of life. There can be no doubt that the error arose from the ambiguous meaning of Acrathos, which might denote the peak as well as the promontory of Athos. The inhabitants of Apollonia, another of the towns of Acte, were called the 'Long-lived,'†† and their existence was prolonged, it is said, to the patriarchal period of a hundred and thirty years.‡‡ Solinus attributes this marvellous longevity to the people who lived on the summit§§, and may, perhaps, have ascribed it to their want of water, in defiance of Dr. Preissnitz and Father Matthew.

After all, the event which has principally ennobled Athos in ancient history is the extraordinary enterprise of Xerxes—the ship-canal which bore his triremes from the Strymonic to the Singitic gulf. The actual magnitude of the work, the length of time allotted to it, the numerous labourers of many races toiling beneath the task, the precocious skill of the Phœnician excavators, and, if we are to credit Herodotus, the magnificent inutility of the whole undertaking‖‖, are elements of greatness which have fascinated the imagination and riveted the belief of succeeding ages.¶¶ A single Roman writer has dared, in the face of all antiquity, to throw doubt upon the fact, and to ascribe to the Father of History the mendacity which distinguished and disgraced the Greeks of his own time.*** Modern criticism has shown that in matters of history Greece is much less 'lying' than Rome. Colonel Leake, however, has not only relieved

* Ap. Rh. I. 601. † Plin. H. M. iv. 12.
‡ Solin. ch. 16. § Æsch. Agam. 285.
‖ Hesych. in Voc. Ἄθως. Compare Mela, D. S. O. ii. 2.
¶ Strabon. Ep. vii. p. 231.; Plin. H. N. iv. 10.
** Solin. ch. 16.
†† Plin. H. M. iv. 10. Compare Ælian. V. H. ix. 10.
‡‡ Lucian. Μακρόβιοι. §§ Solin. ch. 16.
‖‖ Herod. vii. 24.
¶¶ Thuc. iv. 109.; Plato, Legg. iii. p. 699.; Isocr. Paneg. p. 58. E.; Lysias, Or. Funeb. p. 193.; Lycophron, Alex. 1415.; Cicero de Fin. ii. 112.; Lucan, ii. 677.; Statius, Silv. l. iii. 55.; Virg. (?) Culex, 30.; Ælian, N. A. xiii. 20.; Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 8.
*** Juvenal, Sat. x. 174.

Herodotus from the accusation of Juvenal, but has defended Xerxes from the charges of Herodotus. He has discovered traces of the canal in the valley which intersects the low undulating hills of the isthmus, and finds its name in the modern appellation of the isthmus itself.* And he maintains that the Great King 'was perfectly justified in cutting this canal, as well 'from the security which it afforded to his fleet as from the 'facility of the work;' that 'it might without much labour 'be renewed;' and 'that it would be useful to the navi-'gation of the Ægæan.'† When Dinocrates undertook to sculpture the mountain into a colossal effigy of Alexander, the king declined the honour, on the ground that it was enough for Athos to have been the monument of one monarch's folly.‡ The more intelligent researches of Colonel Leake have vindicated the Persian, and left the magnanimous moral pointless.

Certainly the mountain has become a monument of far greater things than the folly of Xerxes or his wisdom. It is a memorial of the first historic struggle between the East and the West, between the strength of despotism and that of free political organisation. It records the watchful care of the Great Ruler of nations over the nascent influence of Greek civilisation, manifested in the providential destruction of the Persian fleet. *Afflavit Deus, et dissipantur inimici.* And by bearing an additional testimony to the overwhelming might of Xerxes, it has become an additional trophy of that illustrious race whose combined energies resisted his aggression and broke his power. It tells us how the pioneers and masters of all human culture were protected from the dangerous influence of the East, until they should themselves be fitted to receive from the East the lessons of a more divine philosophy. And it is a lasting and wonderful monument of that novel influence which issued from an obscure corner of Asia, took the civilised world by storm, and has held possession of it ever since. Probably there is no spot over which the Church has a dominion so complete and exclusive, none in which every thing is so visibly and singly devoted to a religious end. Rome is the metropolis of a spiritual empire, has priests for her princes, and luxuriates in solemn ceremonies. The English universities are testimonies to the triumphs of the Faith over every branch of human know-

* Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 143. 'The modern name of this 'neck of land is Próslaka, evidently the Romaic form of the word 'προαῦλαξ, having reference to the canal *in front* of the Peninsula of 'Athos.'

† Ib. p. 145.

‡ Plutarch, De Fort. Alex. Or. II.

ledge. But the religious character of the one is visibly alloyed with secular power, that of the other necessarily tempered with secular learning. The monasteries of Athos are without power and without learning.

An accurate history of these institutions is a desideratum in that of the Eastern Church, and a critical writer who should follow Gibbon through the entire cyclus of Byzantine history, and then make a voyage of discovery into the unexplored region of diplomas and golden bulls, might do good service in his generation. We shall at present venture only to give a skeleton of their history, such as may be constructed out of the scanty materials which lie before us. If we are to believe the traditions current and recognised among the caloyers, their monasteries must be referred to a very high and honoured antiquity. St. Helena is said to have been the first to settle monks on the peninsula. Two of the monasteries claim to be founded by Constantine the Great*, and two more by the Empress Pulcheria.† One of the former, Castamonitu, was completed, it is said, by Constans, whose peculiar love of seclusion was certainly not the fruit of an ascetic temper. The Protaton, or Metropolitan Church, at Caryæ is also ascribed to Constantine, and is said to have been destroyed, together with his other foundations, by the apostate Julian — the Cromwell of Greek ecclesiastical tradition. The Protaton, indeed, although set on fire, was not destroyed, as marks of the conflagration were exhibited on its walls in the days of John Commenus, and in all probability are so still.‡ Batopedion had a second founder in Theodosius, of whom a story is related concerning a 'bush' and a 'child'§, probably invented, as Mr. Bowen shrewdly observes, 'to ac-'count for the singular name.' He might have added, that the orthography has been perverted to bring it into harmony with the legend, as all the best authorities, from John Cantacuzene to John Commenus, spell it in a way which admits of a much more simple etymology.

These are the only foundations claiming a date prior to the tenth century, and even these are confessed to have been restored or re-founded in that or the following age. We believe there is no contemporary or documentary evidence of any establishment prior to the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, who became emperor in the year 963.‖ The names of Constantine and Pul-

* Palæographia Græca, pp. 459. 498. † Ib. 496.
‡ Palæographia Græca, p. 484. § Ib. p 459.
‖ Walpole's Memoirs, p. 218. Compare Goar, Rituale Græcorum p. 120. note.

cheria are a most tempting nucleus for an ecclesiastical mythus, and they seem to be regarded in that light by the more intelligent among the monks themselves; so that we may fairly conclude that these personages are to Batopedion and Castamonitu, Spligmenu and Xeropotamu, what Alfred the Great is to University College, or to the 'King's Hall, and College of Brase-'nose.' It is probable, however, that there were recluses on Athos long before the time of Nicephorus Phocas. A large proportion even at the present day are scattered about the mountain in separate hermitages, and it is said that this was universally the case before the institution of the monasteries. And as ten of the monasteries, including the four whose apocryphal origin has just been related, appear to have been founded in the course of a century and a half, we may infer that Athos was already extensively tenanted by the ascetics, and had been for a considerable time a place of religious retirement. We will not attempt to fix the date at which its religious character was first stamped upon it. Nor need we go about to account for that character. The vulgar stories of its being the scene of the Temptation or the Transfiguration are evidently a result, and not the cause, of its supposed sanctity. The chapel of the Transfiguration on the summit of the mountain proves nothing as to the antiquity of the legend, as in Greece churches in high places commonly and naturally receive their names from that mystery. In fact, the geographical seclusion of the peninsula, coupled with its wild beauty, would naturally attract ascetics in the days of asceticism; and it is no more necessary to look for any predetermining cause than it is in the case of St. David's or Iona. The place, once inhabited by anchorites, would become hallowed in the popular imagination; its holiness would attract new comers, who would further establish its character; until a spot, originally regarded as convenient for devotional retirement, would be consecrated to a sort of Christian fetichism. At whatever period the mountain was first tenanted by recluses, it is probable that it was not extensively occupied by them, if at all, until the northern shores of the Ægæan had been brought into prominence by the establishment of a new focus of empire and of Christianity. Monks are not drawn together by seclusion merely, but by a visible and notorious seclusion; and if there had been no Constantinople it is probable that there would have been no Hagion Oros. Mr. Bowen asserts, or conjectures, that 'a great migration of 'monks and anchorites took place hither when Egypt, their 'first stronghold, was first conquered by the Saracens. A

'large proportion of the holy exiles settled down on the peninsula of Acte, forming a society which is utterly without parallel in history.' (P. 72.) The statement is inherently probable, and appears to rest on the foundations of a widespread tradition. Yet in the absence of any positive testimony we hesitate in giving unqualified assent to a belief, the origin of which it would be easy to account for on the supposition of its falsehood. The early monks and anchorites of Egypt were objects of the highest veneration to the Greek Church; and it is natural to suppose that the caloyers would be anxious for the honour of a spiritual descent from Paul of Thebes, Antony, and Pachomius. Nor, indeed, do we find that any of the existing monasteries claim to be colonies from their Egyptian predecessors;—a story which would probably have arisen if there had been the slightest foundation for it.

It is, perhaps, a significant fact, that there is no evidence of literary labour in the cloisters of Athos anterior to Nicholas Blemmydas, who lived and wrote in the thirteenth century. Anchorites are not likely to be authors, and in Greece even monks are little given to intellectual toil. But at a period when monastic writers were flourishing in all parts of the Eastern Empire, if Athos had possessed monasteries of any eminence and antiquity, it must in all probability have made some contributions to ecclesiastical literature. And there is something like proof positive that the Holy Mountain had not attained to celebrity before the days of Nicephorus Phocas. For a Novel of that emperor, in a somewhat rhetorical enumeration of illustrious monasteries, omits all mention of it whatever, and concludes with a prohibition against the foundation of new conventual institutions, a prohibition not meant to extend to the establishment of 'Lauras' in 'desert places.' If, therefore, as is allowed on all hands, a monastery was founded in Athos, in the reign and under the special protection of the same Nicephorus, it would seem that the mountain was then regarded as a 'desert place.'

St. Athanasius of Athos is said to have been the first to collect the recluses, who till that time lived in solitary cells, into a regular cœnobitic institution. He was the John Balliol or Walter Merton of the Holy Mountain, and set an example which was soon and extensively followed. Ten monasteries, as we have seen, were established within a hundred and fifty years, between the middle of the tenth and the close of the eleventh century. Ten more of those which are still extant were founded at various intervals during the succeeding ages, the last of them dating from the sixteenth century, when it

was instituted by Jeremias, patriarch of Constantinople.* Athanasius himself was a native of Trebisond, and became, as is recorded in the 'Menologies,' a monk at Cymina in Asia Minor, under the instruction of Michael Malinus.† Thence he retired to Acta, and after leading an eremitical life for some years, founded the great monastery of Laura, under the encouragement of the successive emperors Nicephorus Phocas and his murderer John Zimisces.‡ The name of this monastery—*the* Laura, *par excellence;* its situation at the foot of Athos, properly so called, which is included in its territory; the number of its dependent asceteria; the identity of its dedication with that of the Protaton§; and, above all, the precedence which it appears to take among its sister institutions, coupled with traditions already referred to, support Mr. Bowen's statement that it ranks first among the monasteries in point of antiquity. (P. 94.)

If we may rely on the statement of John Comnenus, who attributes the original establishment of Dochiarin to St. Euthymius, the friend and companion of Athanasius, that monastery was an emanation from Laura, and a testimony to its early importance. The assertion that it was founded in the reign of Nicephorus Botaniates is an obvious anachronism, and if we therefore assign it to the period of Nicephorus Phocas, it must have come into existence very shortly after the parent monastery of Laura.‖ Its name is derived from that of the office (*δοχειάρης*) which Euthymius held in the community of Laura.

Batopedion, Philotheus, and the Iberians belong to the period immediately succeeding the foundation of Laura. Together with that monastery and the Protaton of Caryæ, they are under the invocation of the Panagia, a fact probably connected with their date, as none of the other monasteries have the same dedication. Philotheus and the Iberians were originally founded for Georgian monks, recalling to the mind of an Englishman the local foundations in so many of our colleges. Eight of the monasteries were established at different periods for Servians and Bulgarians, and one for Russians. At present one of the monasteries only is exclusively in the hands of Bulgarians, and one (that which bears their name) has been restored to the

* Historia Patriarchica C. P.

† Bolland. Acta SS. Julii, vol. ii. p. 246.

‡ Palæogr. Gr. p. 452.

§ Ib. pp. 452. 484.

‖ Palæogr. Gr. p. 489. *Ἅγιος Εὐθύμιος, ὅς τις ἦταν εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῆς βασιλείας Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βοτανιάτου, γνώριμος καὶ συνασκητὴς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου.*

Russians. In addition to these the asceteria of St. Elias and St. Demetrius are in the hands of the Russians and Bulgarians respectively. St. Paul's, originally Bulgarians, is at present wholly occupied by Ionians. Perhaps the most interesting fact in connexion with the local foundations is the occupation of one in the twelfth century by Italian monks, a colony from Amalfi, who use the Latin language.* This, with the Russian and Iberian monasteries, bears witness to the wide-spread reputation of Athos at an early period.

It is not impossible that many of the monasteries were originally dependent asceteria. This was certainly the case with that of St. Paul; and it is probable that the restorations which are said to have taken place in most of the others, imply their elevation to the rank of independent societies. The appellation of the asceteria does not in the least denote their distinctive character, which is better expressed by another title borne by them (*μονίδια*). We may conceive that it was originally applied to all the conventual foundations, and was afterwards restricted, like that of the Halls at Oxford, to the unincorporated communities. Certainly it describes adequately the primary idea of the cœnobitic life. The caloyers are bidden to regard their habitations as places devoted to penitential exercise; and it is clear that nothing was further from the mind of any of the originators of monachism than to establish seminaries of religious or secular learning. That the monastic orders of the Western Church produced a large harvest of scholars and theologians, was no part of their intention, but an accident, although a most fortunate accident both for them and for us. It was the natural result of their position; but the circumstances which placed them in advance of their age had no influence on the similar institutions in the Greek Church. In Western Europe, amid universal political and social confusion, the crash of falling, and the birth-throes of rising kingdoms,—learning and civilisation, unknown and despised by the barbarous rulers, and the scarcely more barbarous multitude, took refuge beneath the shadow of St. Benedict. The influence subsequently acquired by the Western monks was due, partly to their reputation for superior sanctity, but still more to their possession of superior knowledge. In the East, on the contrary, the Muses were not driven from

* See a well written article in the 'Christian Remembrancer,' No. lxxii. Art. II., on 'The Monasteries of Athos,' containing much original information on the subject. We are indebted to it for this fact, and for extending and deepening the general impression of the place which we had formed from various sources.

the court, and had no need to fly to the cloister. Constantinople, from the eighth century, was the chosen resort of grammarians, rhetoricians, and pedants of all sorts. The porphyry chamber produced philosophers and historians; and the throne of St. Sophia was occupied by more than one illustrious scholar. The monks of Athos, therefore, had no occasion to add knowledge to their zeal, and would probably have considered it a profanation to do so. They survive accordingly, a standing specimen of the natural working of the system, and a practical refutation of it.

Two points in the history of Athos illustrate, and partly account for, the intellectual condition of its inhabitants. While the Benedictine abbeys were fostering literature and the arts of peace in the midst of a warlike generation, while new orders were springing up, and were being ennobled by Bacon and Aquinas,—the monks of Athos were sitting in solitude and silence, with their eyes fixed on their stomachs, and their thoughts concentrated on nothing. This extraordinary race of mystics, the legitimate successors, as it was thought, of an extinct race of heretics, and the worthy precursors of Jacob Behmen and Emmanuel Swedenborg, believed that by sitting pertinaciously in this strange posture, they were enabled to contemplate the divine light of the Transfiguration. 'Turn thine eyes,' says an authority cited by Fleury and Gibbon, 'to the middle of thy 'belly—abstain from breathing, even through thy nose; and 'seek in thy inward parts for the place of the heart.' The reader of Aristophanes will exclaim with Xanthias,—

Ὦ χρυσέοι θεοί!
ἐνταῦθ' ἔχεις τὴν καρδίαν;

and will not be surprised to learn that the monasteries of Athos are mentioned by one of the principal defenders of the Quietists under the title of *φροντιστήρια*.*

Traditional hostility to the Latin Church is another feature in the history of Athos. During the brief and hollow submission of the first Palæologus to the Roman See, an attempt was made to force Latin priests and their ritual on the caloyers of the Monte Santo. The latter resisted and resented the tyranny and indifference of their rulers, and their repugnance to Rome was manifested by open riots.† The traditionary history of their monasteries breathes a similar spirit. Two, it is said, were burnt by the Pope, and from two more the monks were

* Cantacuzene, Hist. ii. 39.

† See Rycaut (p. 229.), who is guilty of an anachronism.

fairly frightened away by the same ghostly enemy.* Our informant omits to specify the guilty Pontiff or Pontiffs, but is more precise as to the occasion. The Pope turned out the caloyers of Xenopotamu, because they refused to interpolate the Creed, and burnt out those of Zographu, because they would not worship him! The destruction of others is popularly ascribed to the Crusaders, a charge from which Mr. Bowen labours, perhaps successfully, to relieve them. He says, 'it is 'not unlikely that their riches may have attracted some of the 'bands who prosecuted their piratical adventures under the dis-'guise of religion,'—a concession which might perhaps be interpreted as equivalent to an admission;—'but it is equally true that 'the Greeks lose no occasion of reviling, justly or unjustly, the 'Latins.' (P. 72.)

It might have been supposed that the subjugation of the Eastern Empire to barbarians and unbelievers would have either annihilated the community, or utterly changed its character. No such results were produced. The monks averted the one catastrophe by the dexterity of their diplomacy, and prevented the other by the inveteracy of their superstition. According to tradition, supported by a charter still extant at Caryæ, they anticipated by a century the fall of Byzantium, by sending an embassy to Brusa with 14,000 sequins, and obtaining from the emir Orchan a full guarantee of their privileges.† This event was probably consequent on the first establishment of the Turks in Europe under Suliman. Mr. Bowen assigns their charter to Mahomet II.; but the accounts are by no means incompatible. The foundation or restoration of a large number of the monasteries during the succeeding age, is a testimony to the good faith of the Moslem, and to their credit for it.

The downfall of the imperial power scattered in all directions the scholars and philosophers who had been protected and patronised by it. They did not shelter themselves in the sanctuaries of the Greek Church, but found a more congenial home in Italian courts and cities. Had it been otherwise, had the monasteries received the learned and their treasures, the advance of Europe must have been seriously retarded, and would probably have received a different direction. If modern civilization had been developed at all under such circumstances, it would have wanted the peculiar character which it has received from the influence of antiquity. It would probably have lacked a motive cause, and certainly a guiding power. The Eastern monks,

* Palæogr. Gr. pp. 482, 483. 487. 490.
† Walpole's Memoirs, p. 218.

indeed, might have attained to a higher state of intellectual culture; but the modern Greeks were incapable of making the best use of the relics of which they were the hereditary guardians. They might have been collectors, copyists, and commentators; but they had not the strength or the art to build upon their own foundations. The tree of knowledge would have been planted in a worn-out and unkindly soil, and would have proved barren, even if it did not wither. It was reserved for the West to revive, and for the North to develop, the lessons which had been preserved so long in the East, partly uninjured, but wholly unimproved.

Accordingly, the intellectual condition of the monks in general is about as low as it can be. Belon, Rycaut, Colonel Leake, Mr. Curzon, and Mr. Bowen, form a catena of evidence to this point, extending almost from the fall of Constantinople to the present day. No doubt there have been and are exceptions to this rule. Learned men have been driven to the cloister by persecution or other causes, and have generally found their way to the highest offices. Yet even these are often filled by illiterate persons. Mr. Bowen tells us of an Epitropus at Batopedion who had never heard of Homer, and had a confused idea that Herodotus was a Father, not of History, but of the Church. Dr. Hunt found the Didascalos of Laura, who should have been *ex officio* a man of letters, reading an Arabic MS. with a Latin version. Let not the learned reader suppose that we censure him for the unscholarlike use of a 'crib.' The truth is, that he was as ignorant of one language as of the other, and was only making believe, like the Mormon prophet, for the benefit of enlightened travellers! In the last century, Eugenius Bulgari, a learned Corfiote, established a flourishing college near Batopedion. The monks loved not learning, and fairly drove him away. But the tide has at length turned, and the Holy Community has of its own accord established a school at Caryæ.

Lord Carlisle's 'Diary' is of more recent appearance than the other two works of which we have spoken. It contains the account of a tour in the Levant, and other parts of the Mediterranean, as well as to a part of the Black Sea, during the years 1853 and 1854. It is written in the form of notes entered day by day, in a journal, and therefore contains the original and spontaneous impressions produced by the many interesting scenes which he visited, at a moment when the attention of all Europe began to be concentrated around Constantinople and the Black Sea. In a region which has been examined and re-examined by travellers of every class and

every nation, — by antiquarians, men of science, divines, poets, and historians,—by Italians, French, Germans, and English,— it is not to be expected that Lord Carlisle should be able to make any new discoveries: but he has produced a pleasing and attractive book, in which every page bears the mark of an amiable, benevolent, and cultivated mind; and which contains many incidental notices of events and subjects, now holding the first place in importance and interest. He is remarkably free from the querulous and fault-finding tone of the ordinary traveller: he views everything with a favourable eye; he loves to praise rather than to blame; and he contrives to extract materials for consolation and gratitude out of a severe attack of the small-pox in the island of Rhodes, of which he recovered in the house and under the care of Mr. Charles Newton, who has been transferred, by Lord Granville, from the care of antiquities in the British Museum to the post of vice-consul in the classic isles of Greece.

We regret that our space will not admit of our following Lord Carlisle to the places which he successively visited, in and near the Mediterranean; but we will extract a few passages, which will serve to give some idea of the contents of his agreeable volume.

After a dinner at Mr. Forbes's, the British Minister at Dresden, he makes these reflections: —

'The talk of some of the guests rolled sonorously upon grand dukes and duchesses. I have some doubt whether this habit can be entirely referred to the spirit of courtiership in the human breast, and whether it is not, at least in part, derived from a far more universal tendency, that of taking an interest in the minute details of all interior family life. Subjects talk of the domestic concerns and habits of their rulers, just as country neighbours do of the proceedings at the castle, or the great manor-house, not only because they are great people, but because such details are more easily discoverable. It is precisely the same source of interest which attaches such charm to the unequalled dissection of character and development of minutiæ in Miss Austen's novels: when we can really learn all about them, we are as much engrossed with the households of the Bennetts and Woodhouses as if they were Hapsburgs or Romanoffs.' (P. 10.)

The custom of talking about the domestic life and habits of the great is, as Lord Carlisle remarks, doubtless owing, not merely to vanity, but also to the feeling of a common humanity. Another reason for this custom is, the sense of the importance of their private conduct to the rest of the community—a reason which applies particularly to royal personages.

Lord Carlisle describes a visit to the ambassador's house at Therapia, near Constantinople, in June 1853, and a dinner

with Lord Stratford; the importance of whose position, at a time when the allied fleets were in Besika Bay, and the Russian occupation of the Principalities was impending, is duly recognised.

'His Excellency sat up talking with me till one; of course I do not introduce here the matter of such a conversation at a time of a great political crisis. I thought all that fell from him showed the intelligence and high-mindedness one should wish to find in a high British functionary; glad he seemed too, as so many of them are, to unbend from the engrossing gravities of the moment, among the lighter and more attractive recollections of literature. The position Lord Stratford at this moment holds must be one of almost painful responsibilities; for, as far as I can gather from others, the rulers of the country appear to pay him a nearly implicit deference, and it has rarely happened to any one to be so much, to all human appearance, the arbiter of peace and war, and of much of the approaching destiny of the human race. (P. 41.)

Lord Carlisle visits a country-house of the British Consul, Mr. Calvert, in the Troad; respecting whose operations as a practical Turkish farmer, he gives the following account.

'Besides this villa, he has two large farms, one in the Chersonese on the European side, the other on the plain of Troy, — the last of 3000 acres. He holds them in the name of his wife, as the Turkish law does not allow males, not Mussulmen, to hold land. This example may possibly lead to a relaxation of this rule: the payment due to the State is a land-tax of about ten pounds a-year, and a tithe of the produce; under the former proprietor, even the land-tax was in arrear, and the tithes nil; in the third year of his occupancy, Mr. C.'s tithes alone amounted to 150*l*. He represents the resources of the country, both in vegetable and mineral productions, as inexhaustible. He can get Turkish labourers for three pounds a-year wages, besides their keep; but he finds it more profitable to employ Greeks at ten pounds a-year: there is the present history of the two races. He thinks, very decidedly, that it is the best thing for the Christian races themselves to preserve the existing state of things for the present, till their growth has secured its own result. A Turk himself had told him the other day that it was becoming inevitable that gradually all the chief employments, and the army itself, must be recruited from the Christian population; and then, some day, the Ministers would tell the Sultan that he must become a Christian, and he would do so. Will it, then, be a convert or a conqueror,—a Constantine or a Ferdinand, who will be first crowned in Saint Sophia? (Pp. 77, 78.)

An argument on the site of the Homeric Troy, suggested to Lord Carlisle by a local investigation, will be read with interest by the classical scholar (pp. 79-94). We confess that we remain incredulous as to the possibility of discovering accurate

topographical details in the Iliad. That the Homeric Troy was supposed to be situated in the district known as the Troad in the historical age, is evident from the mention of places in the neighbourhood, such as the island of Tenedos, and mount Ida. Lord Carlisle states, that in a barrow recently opened by Mr. Calvert in his Troad farm, was found a layer of calcined human bones, about six feet in depth, and thirty feet in diameter, with one skeleton at the bottom, and below these a large quantity of ashes; and he suggests that these might have been the bones of the Trojans burned during the truce obtained by Priam in the seventh book of the Iliad. That these bones may be the identical bones mentioned by Homer we will not deny; but, considering the prevalence of the custom of burying in large mounds of earth, in different times and countries, we see no reason why the bones in question should not as well be subsequent to the Christian era as prior to it.

Lord Carlisle gives us his deliberate opinion upon that much-contested point, the state and prospects of the Turkish Empire. We commend it to the reader's particular attention, with the remark that Lord Carlisle, though not long a resident at Constantinople or in the Levant, had, during his stay, opportunities of conversation with the best-informed persons, and that his character does not incline him to undue censure or gloomy anticipations.

'Among the lower orders of the people, there is considerable simplicity and loyalty of character, and a fair disposition to be obliging and friendly. Among those who emerge from the mass, and have the opportunities of helping themselves to the good things of the world, the exceptions from thorough-paced corruption and extortion are most rare; and in the whole conduct of public business and routine of official life, under much apparent courtesy and undeviating good breeding, a spirit of servility, detraction, and vindictiveness appears constantly at work. The bulk of the people is incredibly uninformed and ignorant: I am told that now they fully believe that the French and English fleets have come in the pay of the Sultan; and when the Austrian special mission of Count Leningen arrived in the early part of this year, and led, by the way, to much of what has since occurred, they were persuaded that its object was to obtain the permission of the Sultan to the young Emperor to wear his crown. Upon the state of morals I debar myself from entering. Perhaps the most fatal, if not the most faulty bar to national progress, is the incredible indolence which pervades every class alike, from the Pasha, puffing his perfumed narghilé in his latticed kiosk on the Bosphorus, to the man in the ragged turban who sits cross-legged with his unadorned tchibouque in front of a mouldy coffee-shop in the meanest village. In fact, the conversation of every man whom I meet, who is well-informed on the state of the population,

with very few exceptions, might be taken down as an illustration, often very unconsciously on their part, of the sense usually assigned to the prediction in the Apocalypse of the waters of the Euphrates being dried up. On the continent, in the islands, it is the Greek peasant who works, and rises; the Turk reclines, smokes his pipe, and decays. The Greek village increases its population, and teems with children; in the Turkish village you find roofless walls and crumbling mosques. Statesmen who do not see these matters with their own eyes, if told of the rotten state of the Ottoman Empire, are apt to say, they do not at all perceive that: — this Prussian General inspected their army the other day, and was highly pleased with its efficiency; this English Captain went on board their fleet, and saw them work their guns, and said that it could not be better done in any English ship. Their military hospitals are perfect models of arrangement and good order. I believe all this to be true, and I can well conceive that in one or two campaigns, on a first great outburst, the Turks might be victorious over their Russian opponents; but, when you leave the partial splendours of the capital and the great state establishments, what is it you find over the broad surface of a land which nature and climate have favoured beyond all others, once the home of all art and all civilisation? Look yourself — ask those who live there — deserted villages, uncultivated plains, banditti-haunted mountains, torpid laws, a corrupt administration, a disappearing people.' (Pp. 182-184.)

We regret to say that Lord Carlisle confirms the prevailing opinion respecting the badness of the present Bavarian government of Greece, and the failure of that experiment of a constitution manufactured by foreigners.

'I have barely adverted to the politics of modern Greece: during one fortnight, at least, ancient Hellas repels all other intrusion, and truth to say, there is but little attraction in the modern competitor for notice. I should also shrink from any direct references to those with whom I have conversed; I may, however, most truthfully sum up, from all that I have seen or read, or heard among persons of different nations, stations, and principles, that the present Government of Greece seems to be about the most inefficient, corrupt, and, above all, contemptible, with which a nation was ever cursed. The Constitution is so worked as to be constantly and flagrantly evaded or violated; the liberty of election is shamefully infringed; and where no overt bribery or intimidation are employed,—charges from which we Englishmen can, I fear, by no means make out an exemption,— the absence of the voters, who regard the whole process as a mockery, is compensated by the electoral boxes being filled with voting-papers by the gens d'armerie,—a height of impudence to which we have not yet soared. Persons the most discredited by their characters and antecedents are forced on the reluctant constituencies, and even occasionally advanced to places of high trust and dignity. The absence of legislative checks is not atoned for by the vigour of the executive in promoting public improvements. Agriculture stag-

nates; manufactures do not exist; the communications, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, where they are good, are deplorable; the provinces — and here I can hardly except the neighbourhood of the capital — teem with robbers. The navy, for which the aptitude of the people is remarkable, consists of one vessel: the public debt is not paid: an offer by a company of respectable individuals to institute a steam navigation, for which the seas and shores of Greece offer such innumerable facilities, was declined at the very period of my visit, because it was apprehended that it would be unpalatable to Austria. Bitter, indeed, is the disappointment of those who formed bright auguries for the future career of regenerate Greece, and made generous sacrifices in her once august and honoured cause.' (Pp. 207-209.)

Lord Carlisle, however, does not despair of the progress of Greece: he points to the material improvement of Athens in the last twenty years, —to the high intelligence of the Greek people,—to their capacity for patient and persevering industry,— and to the zeal for education which pierces to the very lowest ranks. 'Many instances are known of young men and women 'coming to Athens, and engaging in service for no other wages 'than the permission or opportunity to attend some place of 'instruction.' We fear that the establishment of a regenerate Byzantine empire is a vision not likely to be realised in our times; but it is difficult to think that the intelligence, energy, and spirit of enterprise which distinguish the Greeks, though they may be often associated with the vices which have grown out of a long habit of slavery, should not, after a time, bear fruits superior to those which can be expected from any Oriental Mussulman community.

ART. VIII.—1. *The History of the Early Puritans, from the Reformation to the Opening of the Civil War in* 1640. By J. B. MARSDEN, M. A. Second Edition.

2. *The History of the Later Puritans, from the Opening of the Civil War, in* 1642, *to the Ejection of the Nonconforming Clergy in* 1662. By J. B. MARSDEN, M. A.

THE rise of what came afterwards to be known as Puritanism in England dates from the very dawn of the Reformation. Our early British schoolmen never spared either the vices of the clergy or the pomp of their ritual services. Wickliffe and the Lollards were on nothing more severe than on the assumption of sacerdotal powers and sacerdotal habits by a Christian ministry. And in Henry VIII.'s time an impulse of change

was no sooner given than its tendencies leant all towards extremes. Had the direction of this impulse been the same in England as elsewhere, we should have doubtless lived at this day under an ecclesiastical system very different from that which now prevails among us. But here the Court took the lead, not the people, and the Court exercised its influence rather to restrain than to press forward ecclesiastical changes. Hence the retention among us of an episcopal form of Church government, which had interwoven itself into the political constitution of the State,—of much of the pomp and ceremony of the old worship,—of the civil law, with its courts and innumerable abuses,—and of a liturgy taken mainly from that of Rome, ere Rome had fallen into the depths of superstition. Had the people forced the Court into a secession from the Romish Church, not one of these things would in all probability have been retained.

The Reformed Church of England, as Henry VIII. settled it, was a sort of bastard Popery—Popery without the Pope. Its confession of faith remained substantially the same as it had been previously to the rupture. Its hierarchy retained all their former power, with much of their original pride and wealth. Its public worship was conducted upon the ancient principle, and in the Latin language. Instead of seeking authority to exercise their functions from the Roman See, the bishops took out licences from the Crown, and the King became what the Pope used to be—Supreme Head of the Church upon earth. Such a Reformation satisfied nobody. The Papists abhorred it because of the rent occasioned in the veil of the temple; the Protestants were dissatisfied with it as relieving their consciences from none of the burdens under which they had long groaned. With the accession of Edward VI. a new era came in. Born of a Protestant mother, and educated under Protestant guardians, this young prince naturally threw himself into the movement, and pushed forward the work of Reform with as much earnestness as was consistent with due regard to order in the State. He failed, indeed, to keep pace with the wishes of such (and they constitute, perhaps, the majority of reformers in all ages) as, in their zeal to accomplish a favourite end, overlook the necessity of caution in the selection of means. But his measures bore the stamp throughout of that true wisdom which is more intent on achieving a good that shall be permanent than on attaining it quickly. In his day many of the most offensive of the Romish services were abolished. A new book of Common Prayer was compiled; new articles of religion were published; the churches were purged of images and pictures; and the Scriptures freely circulated in an English version. Great

efforts were likewise made to promote sound learning in the Universities. Heretofore neither Hebrew nor Greek had found favour in these seats of the Muses. Indeed the well known proverb, 'Cave Græcos ne fias hereticus,' had been religiously acted up to so recently as the times of Collet and Stafford. The Regency (for Edward himself was but a child) took vigorous steps to remedy this evil, and invited over Peter Martyr and Bucer to fill the chairs of Divinity, the one in Oxford the other in Cambridge. For all this they received the hearty commendation of the leading Reformers, both of the Continent and of Scotland, between whom and our own Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Parkhurst, the correspondence was frequent, and of the most confidential nature. Still the leaven of Puritanism continued to work. At a moment when projects were actually on foot for uniting all the Reformed Churches into one — when the Episcopal Church of England was selecting for its theological teachers divines ordained to the ministry by Presbyters — when the Presbyterian Churches of Germany and Switzerland were considering of the readiest means of receiving again the Episcopate from England — when all were convinced that it is neither in ceremonies nor in ordinances, but in the profession of a common faith and a common charity, that true Church-union consists — at this very moment restless spirits were putting in jeopardy, not the peace of the Church of England alone, but the great cause of the Reformation itself, by their bitter hostility to trifles. These men — to whom by and by the nick-name of Puritan came to be applied — seem to have borne, without impatience, a good deal that was really objectionable, both in the national creed and in the national worship. But the retention of copes, stoles, rotchets, and so forth — garments polluted, as they expressed it, by the idolatrous uses to which they were once applied — was, in their opinion, a crying sin; and sooner than be participators in it they were ready to suffer or to inflict martyrdom, according to the turn which the wheel of fortune might take.

To John Hooper — a man of unfeigned piety, but of prejudices stronger considerably than his judgment — the credit attaches of giving the first decided impulse to the vestiarian controversy. He had been forced, in the previous reign, on account of his adoption of the Reformed doctrines, twice to escape to the Continent, and returning soon after the accession of Edward he was, through the interest of John Earl of Arundel, nominated, in 1550, to the see of Gloucester. He refused to become a bishop, unless his conscience might be relieved by dispensing both with the oath of supremacy and with the habits.

On the former point the King himself is said to have interfered in Hooper's favour. The oath, which used to run in the name of God, of the Saints, and of the Holy Gospels, the young King altered with his own hand; but on the subject of the Episcopal habit Cranmer could not be moved, and the King and the Protector, though equally willing to give way, yielded to the Primate's influence. And now began a series of acts the records of which fill us with astonishment. Hooper was warned, reasoned with, and admonished. He refused to be made a bishop except on his own terms, and was cast into prison. Then came forward Bucer and Martyr, to entreat, in the names of the Reformed continental Churches, that the point might be yielded. At last Hooper's scruples so far gave way that he consented to wear at consecration the robes usually worn by bishops elect on such occasions. But it is doubtful whether he ever appeared in them again. And, as usually happens—particularly when the public mind is in a state of transition on important matters—he became forthwith an object of admiration to many and of imitation to not a few.

There can be little doubt that the tendency of the Church during Edward's reign was downwards. Had he survived a few years longer, and his policy undergone no change, in England, as well as in Germany and Scotland, a Church would have probably been established, moderately Calvinistic in its abstract faith, and Presbyterian in its constitution and forms of public worship. The early death of the King put a stop to all this, and led to a revolution even more surprising, because more sudden and complete, than that which, with all his power, Henry had succeeded in effecting. Without a struggle—we had almost said without a remonstrance—the people of England, at Mary's bidding, relapsed into Popery. There had been two formidable rebellions in her father's day, directed avowedly against the new order of things in religion. There was no movement at all in defence of Protestantism when she reintroduced the old system. For even Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising in Kent had much more connexion with the Spanish marriage than with the bringing back of ancient creeds and customs. This consequence, however, followed Mary's movement. Almost all who remained true to the Reformed faith became deeply imbued with Puritanical doctrines. They had borne with impatience the discipline enforced by Protestant bishops under a Protestant government. They learned, by witnessing a continuance of the same system under a Popish government, to associate the idea of persecution more with the Episcopal than with the Regal office. And events had occurred which, by

connecting this prejudice with the rights of Mary and her sister to the succession, stirred up in them feelings out of which much evil was destined by and by to arise. It will be borne in mind that on the death of Edward an attempt was made to seat the Lady Jane Grey upon the throne in virtue of a will which the dying King was understood to have drawn up through zeal for the maintenance of true religion in the land. Lady Jane Grey became in consequence the idol of all who thought deeply and were ready to do or to suffer much for the cause of the Reformation. Upon them, therefore, not without reason, the suspicion fell that they cared infinitely more for certain religious dogmas and customs than for keeping the rightful line upon the throne; and the belief so created did not cease to operate till long after the misfortune against which the Howards had conspired to guard had been removed.

We have nothing to do with the Marian era or its persecutions. Both passed away, and on the 18th November, 1558, Elizabeth ascended the vacant throne. In the January following the ceremony of her coronation took place, and in passing towards Westminster Abbey an English Bible was presented to her at Paul's Cross, which she pressed, with the appearance of great devotion, to her breast. There is no reason to suppose that Elizabeth was guilty of the slightest hypocrisy in this. Like her brother, she was sprung from a Protestant mother. Her claim to be treated as rightful heir to the throne, rested entirely on the validity of the divorce which Protestant divines had pronounced. She would have been untrue to the memory of her mother, and unjust to herself, had she swerved from the faith to which, in some degree, even Anne Boleyn may be said to have died a martyr. Nevertheless, Elizabeth soon discovered that her position, as Queen of England, was one of much delicacy and more danger. It was impossible to deny that a great majority of her subjects, including, perhaps, seven-eighths of the clergy, with a considerable number of the nobility, were attached to the religion of Rome. The remainder seemed to be divided, perhaps in nearly equal proportions, between what afterwards became Protestantism of the High Church school and Puritanism. But there was this difference between them. The Puritans made no secret of their determination, as soon as power came into their hands, of avenging the wrongs inflicted upon the saints, by rooting Popery out of the land. The High Church party professed to seek no more than the re-establishment of the true Reformed Church, and made even that point secondary to the profession of personal attachment to the sovereign. There is no telling what course the Queen might

have adopted, had not Pope Paul, an old man, received the messenger whom she sent to announce to him her accession, in a manner which at once offended her woman's pride and wounded her queenly dignity. To adopt the Romanists after this, would be to commit power into the hands of those who would probably turn it against herself. On the other hand, she shrank from committing herself with the extreme Protestant party, the ascendancy of which would lead at once to a rebellion. She therefore threw herself into the arms of the High Church faction, in the belief that by balancing one extreme against another, she should be able to neutralise the hostility of both, and to govern quietly.

It is due to the memory of this illustrious princess to observe, that she was guided to this conclusion by the advice of the leaders of the Reformation on the Continent. These truly great men had looked on with sorrow, while the Reformed Church of England engaged, under her brother, in an internecine strife about questions of dress, ceremony, and ritual. They had witnessed the continuance of this conflict, even after persecutions had driven the representatives of the rival factions into exile; and now taking into account the critical condition both of Church and of State, they counselled the Queen to follow the dictates rather of a wise expediency, than of a narrow prejudice. The sum of their argument was this. The great object to be aimed at is, the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of Protestant government in England. Undoubtedly it were better—would circumstances admit of it—to discard the remnants of Popish customs and habits, and to assimilate the English Church, in all respects, to the Reformed Continental Churches. But habits, and even customs, up to a certain point, are in themselves indifferent; and the continuance or discontinuance of things indifferent, in a religious point of view, but politically important, must be left to the determination, not of the clergy, but of the sovereign.

Elizabeth no sooner felt herself secure on the throne than she avowed her determination to restore to the Church the constitution which belonged to it in the reign of her brother. In one respect, indeed, she diverged from his policy and from that of her father. In restoring the deprived bishops to their sees, and appointing others, she refused to treat them as mere officers of State. She declared that they held their commissions from a power far superior to that of any earthly monarch, and expressed great disinclination to be addressed as Head of the Church. But in regard to other points her mind was made up: she would have the old vestments, the old usages, the old forms of prayer, and the

old Church discipline. In an instant the extreme Protestant party took the alarm. Its preachers had been fulsome in their professions of loyalty, while yet the policy of the new sovereign appeared to be doubtful. They now spoke of her, and even to her, in terms of the coarsest invective. 'She is in the habit,' writes Bishop Cox to Gaulter, 'of listening with the greatest 'patience to bitter and sufficiently cutting discourses.' 'The 'Queen is irritated, the minds of the nobility are alienated, the 'diseased and weak are debilitated. If this go on, then verily 'we shall have a papistical or a Lutherano-papistical ministry, 'or none at all; for an ungovernable zeal for discord is abroad.'*

The reader must not suppose that complaints of this sort emanated from the heads of the High Church party alone. Grindal, Horn, Jewel, Pilkington all men of the mildest spirit—were of one mind. In the Zurich letters their opinions stand recorded, and they agree to a tittle. "It is not owing 'to us that vestments of this kind (the rotchet and the sur-'plice) have not altogether been done away with.' 'They are 'the robes of the Amorites, that cannot be denied. But the 'sum of our controversy is this. We hold that the members of 'the Church of England may adopt, without impiety, the dis-'tinction of habits now prescribed by public authority; espe-'cially when it is proposed to them as a matter of indifference, 'and while the use of the habits is enjoined only for the sake 'of order, and due obedience to the laws.' Their own feel-ings, their own wishes, were on the side of Continental sim-plicity: but what then? They knew the temper of the times, and did not care to risk all, by aiming at too much. 'We are 'brought into such straits, that since we cannot do what we 'would, shall we not do, in the Lord, what we can?'

Here, then, we stand at the opening of a strife which was to continue, upon grounds perpetually shifting, throughout years unnumbered; which was to undermine the very foundations of the fabric for the purity of which the combatants professed to fight, and to revive again as soon as from the ruins into which she had fallen, the Church, in her integrity, should re-appear. As yet, it will be seen, that the points in dispute related to matters of the smallest visible importance. The Reformed Churches of Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland had exchanged the surplice

* There would really seem to have been no limits to the freedoms which grave preachers took at this crisis with the Queen's patience. The famous appeal of Dennis is well known: 'Your Majesty began 'your reign with the meekness of a lamb, you are now an untamed 'heifer.' Olim tanquam ovis, nunc autem, indomita juvenca.'

and band for a plain black cloak. They neither crossed the child at baptism, nor knelt to receive the holy communion, nor made use of the ring in marriage, nor placed their communion tables in the chancels or eastern extremities of their temples. Why should the Church of England impose upon her sons a yoke from which their brethren in other lands had been delivered? The Churches of Germany, of Switzerland, and of Scotland put no restraint upon the devotions of their members by forcing them to pray in public out of a book. Why should the ministers of the Church of England be restricted to a service, which, however excellent in itself, cannot but grow cold by frequent repetition? Such was the language of the Puritans. On the other hand, it was contended that men's consciences must be over-sensitive to a fault, if for the sake of attaining a great and permanent good, they were unwilling to submit to a small and temporary evil. Of Her Majesty's subjects a very large majority retained their attachment to the Romish system; and surely it was better to construct for them a bridge whereby they might cross into the true fold, than by outraging all their prejudices to drive them into schism, and it might be into open rebellion.

That this was Elizabeth's view of the case cannot for a moment be doubted. She made no profession of her faith one way or another. When called to the throne, she consented to be crowned according to the Romish ritual, though one only of the prelates, Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle, could be prevailed upon to officiate on the occasion. She balanced in the Privy Council Protestants against Papists, without giving a preponderance to the former; and was present daily in the Chapel Royal at the celebration of Mass. She even appeared for a short space to listen not unfavourably to the suit of Philip of Spain, the husband of her late sister; but all was the result of calculation. To the first Parliament which assembled after her succession, she proposed measures which left no doubt of the course which it was her intention to pursue, and to the end of her reign she adhered to it with a tenacity characteristic of her race.

Of the Acts passed in 1559, relating to Church affairs, two only demand special notice on the present occasion. One, which restored to the Crown its supremacy over the State Ecclesiastical, contained a clause whereby her Majesty and her successors were empowered to create into a High Court of Commission, such persons (being natural born subjects) as by Letters Patent, the Sovereign for the time being might be pleased to appoint. The Commissioners so chosen were to hold office only during pleasure, and were authorised 'to visit, reprove, redress, order,

'correct, and amend, all such errors, heresies, schisms, charges, 'offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, as by any 'manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or juris- 'diction, can or may lawfully be reproved, ordered, redressed, 'corrected, visited, or amended.' Nor were the Commissioners more restricted in their conduct of particular cases than their powers were limited in seeking for particular cases to conduct. Any person accused of any act or word which could by possibility be wrested into one or other of the offences specified in the deed, was liable to be arraigned, either with or without a jury, as the Court might determine; and failing other evidence, could be put upon his personal oath of purgation, to extort which recourse might be had to imprisonment or the rack. A readier instrument of unmitigated tyranny it is scarcely possible to conceive, and the result proved that it had not been called into existence without a purpose.

The second Act to which we refer, is well known as the Act of Uniformity; and it has received, in our opinion, scant justice at Mr. Marsden's hands. He describes it as the root and origin of all the evils which subsequently befell the Church of England. 'The Act of Uniformity,' he says, 'which passed in 'the first year of Queen Elizabeth, may be considered as the 'period of time at which the battle was at length joined, and each 'of the two parties—the Puritans and Protestants — assumed 'its definite position. The Act embraced two vital questions: 'the revisal of the Prayer-book, and the compliance hereafter to 'be rendered to the forms and ceremonies. With regard to the 'book of Common Prayer, it remained in substance the second 'of two prayer-books issued by King Edward—namely, that of '1552. The few alterations made in it did not relieve the 'Puritans, nor indeed were they meant to do so. With regard 'to the vestments they felt themselves injured afresh; for they 'were compelled by a rubric in the revised book to retain all 'such ornaments of the Church in their ministry as were in use in 'the second year of King Edward, the year in which his first im- 'perfect prayer-book was put forth, abounding as it did with the 'traces of superstition; whereas the second prayer-book of 1552 'insisted only on the use of the surplice. This was much to be 'deplored; not because the difference was important between a 'surplice and a cope, but because it showed an unyielding temper.'

Unquestionably the return—though it were for a year or two only—and that more in theory than in practice—to the cope and the tippet was an error; but Mr. Marsden forgets to add, that in 1662 the error was remedied; and he totally overlooks the fact, that in requiring from its ministers a uniform system in

the celebration of public worship, the Church of England did no more than has been done by all National Churches, since the foundations of Christianity were laid. Indeed, we must go further. Though the Act of Supremacy struck a fatal blow at the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction, it was the Act of Uniformity, and that alone, which set aside the Mass, and rendered a continuance of Popish customs and ceremonies within the Church of England impossible. And it was the combination of the two which forced the whole of the Bishops, with one exception—Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff—to resign their seats in the House of Lords, and abdicate their bishopricks. Had Mr. Marsden confined his censure to that clause in the Act of Supremacy which established in England a tribunal so monstrous as the High Court of Commission, all impartial men would have gone along with him. But he confounds right and wrong, or, to use a vulgar phrase, he puts the saddle on the wrong horse, when he charges the Act of Uniformity, *per se*, with severities which could never have been perpetrated but for the arbitrary proceedings and unlimited authority of the High Court of Commission.

The abdication of the Romish Bishops, partly for conscience sake, partly through compulsion, was not followed by an immediate re-constitution of the hierarchy. Of the Prelates ejected in Mary's reign, three only survived; and two of these, Coverdale and Hoskins, had, by joining the extreme Protestant party in Frankfort, rendered themselves in some measure obnoxious to the Court. But a visitation of the several dioceses of the Kingdom took place by commissioners acting in the Queen's name, and the churches were well purged of the Popish relics. It does not appear, however, that very many of the inferior clergy thought it necessary to follow the example which the Bishops had set them. Out of above eight thousand parish priests, not more than three hundred preferred their creed to their livings.

Between 1559 and 1562 the wrongs suffered by the Puritans were more imaginary than real. The terrors of the Act, whatever these might be, hung indeed over them, but no one stepped forward to inflict them; and in spite of frequent recommendations to the contrary, a large body of the clergy continued to celebrate public worship in such garbs, and with such forms, as appeared to themselves individually most suitable. At length the vacant sees were filled; and in 1662 convocation met, with the settled purpose, on both sides, of bringing their differences to an issue. Bishop Sandys in the Upper House, and Dean Nowel in the Lower, led, what may be termed, the opposition. They desired to get rid of organs, and other

musical instruments, from churches — to forbid the practice of lay baptism — particularly of baptism by women — to omit the sign of the Cross on that occasion, and to cancel the rubric which requires a kneeling posture at the Holy Communion. They were opposed, also, to Saints' Days—to the practices of praying towards the east, and of bowing at the name of Jesus; and they proposed that a committee should be appointed to examine and revise all the laws relating to the service book, and the dresses of the clergy. In a word, the entire controversy, which by them was extended from a question of vestments to other matters ceremonial, was raised and conducted with great vigour.

The see of Canterbury after continuing vacant since the death of Cardinal Pole, had recently been conferred upon Dr. Matthew Parker. His worst enemies could not charge him with entertaining any fondness for Popery. But his manners were rough, his zeal was overflowing, and his impatience of contradiction remarkable. He had discovered in the course of his primary visitation, that dislike to the vestments, and, indeed, to rubrical injunctions generally, was more common, especially among the laity than had been supposed. He set himself to enforce obedience to the law in a very determined manner. His main attack, of course, was made upon the clergy. Neither age, nor learning, nor the sufferings of former days protected a recusant divine from his anger. And having entire control over the High Court of Commission, he rendered it a most efficient instrument in the accomplishment of his purposes. It would be tedious to describe how men of inferior note were called away from their homes, examined, and silenced; but one striking instance of the power of mistaken zeal to smother in the human heart every generous feeling cannot be passed over. Miles Coverdale had been Bishop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI. He went into exile after Mary's accession; and, though differing from Parker on various points, lived with him in perfect amity at Frankfort. They returned to England together. Parker became Archbishop of Canterbury; Coverdale received no preferment; till Grindal, now promoted to the see of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, London Bridge. Coverdale, when an ejected Bishop, had assisted at the consecration of the new primate. The new primate, finding that Coverdale, as rector of St. Magnus', had thrown in his lot with the Puritans, let loose upon him the violence of the Commission Court, and the venerable translator of the Bible was deposed from his benefice, and turned out to die, as he soon afterwards did, in absolute penury.

So long as the efforts of the High Church party were re-

stricted to persuasion and remonstrance, the Continental Reformers gave them their support. They carried with them also the sympathies of the more moderate leaders of what we should now call the Low Church school, — such as Grindal, Horn, Sandys, Parkhurst, and Jewel — all by this time bishops. But the violence of Parker offended his more charitable brethren at home, and drew from their friends and correspondents abroad, earnest remonstrances. 'We exhort you, reverend sirs, and 'very dear brethren,' wrote Bullinger and Gaulter, when advertised of these proceedings, 'to have respect to faithful 'ministers and learned men; they have their own feelings; 'whence the Apostle has instructed us to bear one another's 'burdens. Your authority can effect much with her most 'serene highness the Queen. Prevail upon her most gracious 'Majesty to grant that these worthy brethren be reconciled 'and restored.' Somewhat different in tone, though not less earnest in spirit, were the appeals of the Scottish Church, already fast settling into a Presbyterian form of government. They spoke, indeed, of 'vain trifles,' of 'Romish rags,' and 'the dregs of 'the Romish beast.' But, insinuating no charge against either Episcopacy or the book of Common Prayer, they prayed only that their brethren might not suffer because of tender consciences in matters of ceremonial and dress.

Violence on one side leads invariably, in such cases, to violence on the other. The moderate men of both parties grieved, and were silent; indeed, we hear little more of Jewel, or of other bishops like him, than that, in an earnest desire for peace, they professed their readiness to sacrifice all, except the Gospel. It was not so with the great body of those who, at the outset, used to look up to them as leaders. Resistance became with them a principle; and from seeking toleration on their own account, they went on to demand, that the opinions and practices of their adversaries should be put down. Dissent, a thing unheard of up to this date, made its appearance; and congregations assembled, here and there, to worship and be instructed by ministers of their own choosing. They were proceeded against, as a matter of course, and submitted to fine and imprisonment with the courage of martyrs. Indeed, they only took what they would have given, probably to a larger extent, had their circumstances and those of their persecutors been reversed. A body of a hundred being on one occasion seized and brought before the Lord Mayor and Grindal, the following scene occurred. There had been a good deal of discussion, which the bishop conducted with perfect temper, when one of the prisoners exclaimed: 'You go like a mass priest.' 'You

'see me wear a cope or a surplice,' replied Grindal mildly, 'at 'Paul's. I had rather minister without these things, but for 'order's sake, and obedience to the prince.' 'Your govern- 'ments are accursed,' was the answer of the famous Nickson. 'Good people,' interposed the Lord Mayor, 'I cannot talk 'learnedly with you; but I will persuade you the best I can. 'The Queen hath not established these things for any holiness- 'sake, but only for civil order and comeliness; as aldermen are 'known by their tippets and judges by their gowns.' 'Even 'so, my lord,' replied Nickson, 'as the alderman is known by 'his gown and tippet, so by this apparel that these men now 'wear, were the popes and mass priests known from other men.'

Persons who could argue thus and rest their hostility to the law on such grounds, would be treated in our day—as silly enthusiasts. In the times of Elizabeth they were sent to prison and the whipping post.

There resided at this time, in Cambridge, two men, who by common consent were admitted to be among the ripest scholars in the University. They had both at the opening of the vestiarian controversy, *scrupled* the habits; indeed, one went so far as, with three hundred other masters, to lay aside the surplice and the hood—which he was with difficulty persuaded to resume. This was John Whitgift, Margaret Professor of Divinity, afterwards Member of Trinity College, and ultimately Archbishop of Canterbury. The other, Thomas Cartwright, Scholar of St. John's, was scarcely so violent at the outset, but his career proved to be more consistent, and it led not to honours, but to persecution. It chanced that on the occasion of the Queen's visit in 1564, Cartwright was selected to hold a public discussion for her entertainment in the schools. He had opposed to him one Dr. Preston, a man greatly his inferior in every respect. But Preston happening to be endowed with a handsome exterior and courtly address, the Queen gave judgment in his favour, and poor Cartwright—a homely and unmannered man — retired mortified and offended to his chambers.

It is said by writers not of his own faction, that Cartwright never forgave the wrong; and that he took his revenge by throwing himself heart and soul into the ranks of the Puritans. We must receive all such tales with exceeding caution. But there is no doubt of the fact, that being appointed in 1569, Margaret Professor of Divinity, he delivered a course of lectures which contained little else than a sustained attack upon the constitution and ritual of the Established Church. The proceedings attracted much notice. Crowds attended to listen,

and the University was scandalised. Here then we are arrived at a second stage in this great controversy. For it was no longer the surplice and the rotchet, the ring in marriage, and the cross at baptism, which furnished the eloquent lecturer with a theme. He assailed the Episcopate itself, and endeavoured to prove out of St. Paul's Epistles, not merely that a Presbyterian polity is admissible under certain circumstances, but that it is in strict agreement with primitive usage, and therefore exclusively of divine institution.

Great were the alarm and indignation excited among the seniors in the University. They endeavoured, in the first instance, to fight the leveller with his own weapons, and Whitgift entered the lists against him. But though Whitgift's prelections met with vast applause, Cartwright held his ground, and the number of his disciples increased from day to day. More decisive measures were, in consequence, held to be necessary, and Cartwright, paying no heed to an admonition from the Chancellor, was silenced, deprived of his professorship, and ultimately removed from his fellowship.

There was no telling to what extremes the dominant faction might proceed, so Cartwright, in order to avoid further molestation, retired to the Continent. But he left many admirers and friends behind him, among whom the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burleigh must be numbered. They, to be sure, being in the Queen's counsel, could mark their sense of the exile's merits only by maintaining with him a kindly correspondence. There were others of less elevated rank but scarcely inferior talent who went much further. Instead of petitioning for leave to exercise the same freedom in ceremonial observances which they had hitherto conceded as a matter of justice to their rivals, the Puritans now protested against the Ecclesiastical system of England as a whole; and set forth their demands in 'An Admo-'nition to Parliament for the Reformation of the Church Disci-'pline,' which was presented by two of the most distinguished of their leaders, Field and Wilcock.

Field and Wilcock were thrown into prison, and their pamphlet burned at Paul's Cross. But copies of it had been made, and its circulation was immense. Again Whitgift received instructions to defend the Church, and again Cartwright met him in the field of controversy. It is curious to observe and to compare the lines of argument which are taken up by the Puritan Divine on the one side, and the High Churchman on the other. The Puritan is convinced that all, even the most minute points, bearing upon the constitution of the Church, are settled by divine authority. He sees a perfect parity among the ministers

of the Apostolic age, and contends that till it be restored, the Church can never attain to the measure of the stature of its great Head. The High Churchman acknowledges that the titles, Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon, &c. cannot be found in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and evinces no particular anxiety as to whether the offices themselves were or were not of Apostolic Institution. 'In the Tabernacle,' says the former, 'the Church is expressly set forth. As the 'Temple was nearer the time of Christ, so it is a more lively 'expression of the Church of God than now is:—Is it 'likely that He who appointed not only the Tabernacle and the 'Temple but their ornaments, would not only neglect the orna- 'ments of the Church, but that without which it cannot stand? 'Shall we conclude that He who sanctioned the bars there, hath 'forgotten the pillars here? Or He who there remembered the 'pins, hath here forgotten the master-builders? Should He 'there remember the beams, and here forget Archbishops, if 'any had been needful? Could He there make mention of the 'snuffers to purge the lights, and here pass by the lights them- 'selves?'

So wrote the Puritan, the assailant of things as they were, making no appeal to expediency, but demanding that his views shall be adopted because they are in accordance with primitive usage. Observe how the champion of orthodoxy deals with this demand, and compare his reasoning with that which somewhat later in the day his followers and copyists adopted:—'It is 'manifest that Christ hath left the government of the Church, 'touching the external policy, to the ordering of men who have 'to make orders and laws for the same, as time, place, and per- 'sons require, so that nothing be done contrary to His word. We 'make not an Archbishop necessary to salvation, but profitable 'to the government of the Church, and therefore consonant to 'the Word of God.' 'We are well assured that Christ in his 'Word hath fully and plainly comprehended all things necessary 'to faith and good life, yet hath he committed certain orders of 'ceremonies and kind of government to the disposition of his 'Church, the general rules given in his Word being generally 'observed, and nothing being done contrary to his will and 'commandment.' If this be not the doctrine of expediency, we know not what is. The utility of an office justifies its intro- duction as well into the Church as into the State. Christ willed that his Church should be governed, because without some sufficient form of government no corporate or organised society can exist. But laying down no precise law, like that of the Old Testament, by which one uniform and unbending system

of government should be framed, he left the Church at liberty to make its own choice, according to the circumstances of time and place in which it might subsist. Nor is it undeserving of notice, that both parties in in this controversy appealed for support to the heads of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, not one of which had retained what is now called the Apostolical Succession; and that, for reasons distinctly stated, the Continental Reformers decided in favour of the Established Church of England: — 'You ask me,' writes Gualter to Bishop Cox, in August 1573, 'to reply to those nine Articles, by the insisting 'upon which they (the Puritans) give you so much trouble. 'But if these are the only matters in dispute between you they 'are scarcely deserving, in my opinion, that any divine should 'be occupied in the refutation of them; they savour of nothing 'but a longing after innovation, and I wish they were not 'sprinkled with something of the bitterness of envy and blind 'emulation.' 'The name of Bishop, they cannot but know, 'was in use in the time of the Apostles, and always, too, 'retained in the Churches in after times; we know, too, that 'Archbishops existed of old, under the name of Patriarchs. 'And if, in later times, they have occasioned so much offence, 'by reason of their tyranny and ambition, that these titles are, 'not without reason, become odious to the godly, I do not yet 'see what is to hinder but that on the removal of the abuse 'those persons may still be Bishops, and be called such, who, 'being placed over a certain number of Churches, have the 'management of such things as pertain to the purity of religion 'and doctrine.' The great Continental Reformers were wiser in their generation than either of the antagonistic factions in England. They would have retained the Episcopal order among their own clergy had circumstances permitted, and warned their brethren in England not rashly to abandon it. But they pursued this course, not through any settled conviction that without an Episcopate there could be no true Church, but because they believed that subject to such modifications as the general state of society might suggest, Churches could be better managed, all over the world, by an Episcopate than by any other form of government. They were therefore quite as severe upon the extravagant pretensions and lordly state of the English hierarchy of that day, as they were upon the restless desire of change which moved the Puritan or Low Church party. All this has, we think, been extremely well put by Mr. Marsden, and in the summing up of his case we are disposed heartily to agree: —

'There is one consideration which, had it occurred to either party,

would have abated something of its warmth, by placing the subjects of contention in a far less important light; we mean the tendency of all institutions to mould themselves in practice so as to accord with the views and dispositions of those amongst whom they flourish. An exact transcript of the primitive churches of the New Testament, were it possible to be revived in London or New York, would grievously disappoint the expectations of its ardent votaries. Names and offices would remain as they were from the beginning, and probably the likeness would be traced in nothing else. The national character would not fail to act with irregular and unequal force upon the different parts of an ancient and foreign institution; and long before it had begun to perform its work with ease, it would, in fact, have been remodelled.'

Time passed, and the fathers of the Reformation, at home and abroad, passed with it from the scene of their labours. Peter Martyr died first; then Jewel; then Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich; Pilkington, Bishop of Durham; Bullenger, the great apostle of Zurich; and Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. All these finished their course in 1575; and in the year following Bishop Horn died also. Grindal, with one or two more of lesser note, alone remained to steer the ark of the Church through a sea which became more and more troubled from day to day; for the English Reformation had by this time reached its zenith. The Court was grown lukewarm or something more, while among the clergy and the people new men stepped forward to agitate questions, which if not absolutely new in themselves, assumed under their management a new aspect. We have marked the assaults of Cartwright and his friends upon the Episcopal form of Church government, as the second stage in the onward progress of events. We have arrived now at a period when from agitating questions of polity and ceremonial observances, divines were about to address themselves to the angry discussion of points of abstract faith. Cartwright's movement may be regarded more perhaps as political than theological. The controversies which arose, soon after Grindal's accession to the see of Canterbury, embraced, besides this, those great points of Christian doctrine, which afterwards assumed the form of the Calvinistic and Armenian controversy, including the nature of the sacraments, and the method of man's justification. It will be necessary to a right understanding of the results in which they issued, that the student should place himself, so to speak, on a height, whence he may look down upon the entire field over which the combatants are gathering. And as we think that Mr. Marsden has well pointed out the spot whence this bird's-eye view may most successfully be obtained, we will leave him to guide our readers

thither. After stating that in regard to moral and religious culture, the state of England was then deplorable; he says:—

'The number of the Romish clergy who had resigned their preferments at the Reformation, appears almost incredibly small. Including bishops, abbots, heads of colleges, and other dignitaries, as well as the beneficed clergy, no writer can muster up two hundred and fifty: bishop Burnet reduces them to one hundred and ninety-nine; and D'Ewes's journal, a still better authority, to one hundred and seventy-seven,—a number altogether insignificant when distributed among the ten thousand parishes of England and Wales. It would be something more than charity to suppose that such numbers of the Romish clergy accommodated themselves at once to a change so great and sudden without violence to their consciences; or, which is more probable, without an utter scorn and a contemptuous disregard of all religious principle. From such incumbents the reforming bishops had little to expect. To restrain their Popish sympathies, and to insist upon a few decent observances—such as public prayers in English, and the reading of the Scriptures—was probably all they could attempt; and without a just severity, even this was often more than they could accomplish.

'The christian ministry in Romish countries is not an object of ambition. The priests and friars of Italy are chiefly drawn from the lower ranks of life; and this is still more visible in remoter nations, where the great prizes of their church are fewer, and out of sight. A slavish life, busied with a succession of fretful observances, has no attractions. The wise and good recoil from it. But a low and ignorant ministry had so long prevailed that it gave but little offence; and this is to be borne in mind when we read of the meanness of those from amongst whom the ministry of the church of England was at first replenished. When Archbishop Parker made the primary visitation of his diocese, some of the beneficed clergy were mechanics, others Romish priests disguised. Many churches were closed. A sermon was not to be heard in places within a distance of twenty miles. To read, or at least so to read as to be intelligible and impressive, was a rare accomplishment. A homily was not read for months together in many parishes. Even in London many churches were closed for want of ministers; and in the country it was not easy to provide a minister competent to baptize infants and inter the dead. Bishop Sandys of Worcester, preaching before the Queen, tells Her Majesty (with a solemn intimation that "their blood will be required "at somebody's hands,") that many of her people, especially in the north, were perishing for lack of knowledge. "Many there are," he said, "that hear not a sermon in seven years; I might say in "seventeen." The Bishop of Bangor had but two preachers in all his diocese. In Cornwall there was not a single minister, says Neal, the historian of the Puritans, capable of preaching a sermon. The Universities afforded little assistance. In 1563 the university of Oxford had but three preachers; and these were chief men amongst the Puritans; Humphrey, Kingsmill, and Sampson. There was yet no succession of young men in the Universities who had been piously

brought up in the Protestant faith. This evil had been foreseen by Latimer and the fathers of the Reformation, and was indeed amongst their chief anxieties. The indiscriminate plunder of Church property which still continued in the reign of Edward VI. was one great cause. The rapacity of those who should have been the Church's guardians is frequently denounced in the sermons of the Reformers. Ridley deplored the lack of "yeomen's sons" as candidates for the ministry. But they did not live to carry into effect those measures of redress on which they were earnestly intent, and which might have prevented the dishonour of the Reformation, and the calamities of a future generation. Thus, the want of endowments hindered many; the terms of subscription, and the rigid conformity enforced with needless severity, was a still greater obstacle to many more who might have adorned the ministerial office.

'Not only schoolmasters and law clerks, but others of a much inferior class, serving men, traders, and mechanics, scarcely possessing the first rudiments of learning, were admitted into holy orders. They wanted the only qualifications which can render such a ministry useful, or even tolerable; fervent piety and self-denying zeal. They merely debased the ministry without extending its efficiency.'

However unsatisfactory, according to our ideas, such a state of things must have been, to Elizabeth it was by no means displeasing. She looked upon preaching as a spiritual luxury, in which the people ought rarely to be indulged. In the first year of her reign it had been prohibited altogether; and the unsettled condition of men's minds, as well as the boldness with which affairs of state were often handled from the pulpit, may in some sort be accepted as a justification of the arrangement. But it was evidently one to which the Christian Church could not long submit. Preaching is an ordinance of the Divine Author of Christianity; the neglect of which furnished the champions of the Reformation with one of the most efficient weapons wherewith to assail the Church of Rome. And in proportion as the people became more generally earnest in the concerns of their souls, the anxiety to be instructed by competent preachers increased. Unfortunately the Queen was unable to dissociate the ideas of preaching and the growth of fanaticism. There was no Latimer or Ridley at hand to set her right on that subject; and Parker, and his friends, had been too much occupied in repressing irregularities arising out of the abuse of that ordinance, to look with any favour upon the ordinance itself. His successor, it is true, laboured under no such prejudice. He had sat at the feet of those who by preaching brought in the Reformation, and he was ready himself to preach again, even though by doing so he might push the Reformation further. But Grindal was constitutionally timid. He shrank from exposing

himself to personal collision with the Court, and distrusted his powers to overcome a prejudice, of the violence of which he was aware. 'Let homilies,' he was told, 'be read, and the young 'catechised; the people require no more. One or two preachers '—safe men—may be licensed in a diocese. But to open our 'pulpits to a crowd of ignorant mess Johns, will set the 'nation by the ears, and bring down the Church and the throne 'with it.'

It was at a moment so unpropitious that the Puritan clergy, in order, as they expressed it, 'to give full proof of their 'sincerity,' entered among themselves into an arrangement for the setting up of 'propheeyings.' The measure was bold, and perhaps, all things considered, injudicious; but it was neither hostile to the established order of things, nor so ridiculous, as a certain class of writers represent. The term 'propheeying' was accepted by the members of these associations in the sense which St. Paul applies to it. They understood it to signify preaching, that is to say, the public exposition of the Word of God; and they drew up for their own guidance rules which were meant to render such exhortations conducive to the moral and religious edification of all concerned. The rules in question were divided into two sections, of which one bore upon the general tenor of each member's professional life, the other settled the order of their public meetings. It was ordained by the former that organs should not be admitted into churches,—that choral singing should cease,—that Calvin's Catechism should be used in the instruction of the young,—and a lecture, of an hour's length, be delivered after each exercise. Sunday was to be observed with great strictness,—prayers for the dead were repressed,—no knell was to be tolled at the death of any person, nor bell rung before the corpse in carrying it to the grave. All these were decided innovations, in spirit if not universally in letter; and beside them, there were others, which being of a more private arrangement, scarcely deserve to be spoken of here. They required, for example, that the communion should be administered in every church, at least once a quarter. They enjoined the minister and churchwardens to go from house to house, to take down the names of communicants, and remonstrate with such as absented themselves. They engaged that after each communion a sermon should be preached, and that on other Sundays when there was no communion there should be a sermon in one at least of the churches in each town. They set up the communion table in the body of the church, and objected to a kneeling posture in receiving the elements. They were, in short, rigid in imposing upon themselves, and ready to enforce upon others, a

strict attention to the outward forms of religion, without caring to exact a very close obedience to the requirements of the service book or the law of the land.

The regulations agreed upon for the management of the prophecyings themselves were in substance as follows:—No set days were fixed, but from time to time, as opportunity or the spirit might dictate, the members were to assemble in a convenient church, under the presidency of a minister previously appointed. One minister opened the business of the day with prayer, and the explanation of a text of Scripture. He was expected to confute foolish interpretations, and to make practical reflections. But he was prohibited from running into commonplace remarks, and desired to conclude within three quarters of an hour with prayer. A second minister followed, who, though at liberty to supply defects, and to clear up difficulties, was not permitted to repeat what his predecessor had said, or to enter into controversy with him. A third also spoke under the same conditions, and to each, one quarter of an hour was allowed. Finally the moderator or president closed the proceedings with prayer, the whole business being transacted between the hours of nine and eleven, A.M.

These people had, likewise, their confession of faith; and it was forcible, clear and comprehensive. They accepted the Bible as the only rule of a Christian man's belief and practice; and condemned as tyrannous all laws and ordinances of man for the binding of the consciences of the faithful.

It is evident upon the face of the matter, that societies so constituted must become instruments either of great good or of great evil, according as they are worked. Wise and conscientious men—especially if high in station and vested with authority—might be enabled to mould them to good. If left to the management of weak or designing persons, it was more than probable that they would lead to evil. They began in Northampton: and it was no unfavourable prognostic of their success that the Bishop of the diocese and the Mayor of the town gave to them their countenance. The example operated far and near, and especially in the country towns similar associations were formed. Archbishop Grindal approved of the broad principle on which these rested, and so far interested himself in the details as to impose certain conditions upon the societies themselves. They had been opposed, vilified, and ridiculed by every section of the clergy, whose ignorance or indolence they practically rebuked. And this circumstance naturally drew towards them all who, from whatever cause, happened to be dissatisfied with things as they were. In many instances the prophecyings

degenerated into polemics—in some, political discussion took the place of religious inquiry. The hierarchy was assailed, the Prayer-Book vilified; ministers who had been silenced in their own churches spoke out there, and the laity began by degrees to take an active part in the proceedings. It was to put a stop to these irregularities that Archbishop Grindal interfered; and his authority appears to have been at once acknowledged. He directed that the Moderator should no longer be elected, but that the chair should be taken by the Archdeacon, or some other grave and learned divine chosen by the Bishop. He required that such subjects alone should be discussed as the Bishop had approved: and, *ante omnia*—so runs the deed—that no lay person should on any account whatever be allowed to speak. Moreover, if any speaker should deviate into politics, or glance, directly or indirectly, at any state or person, public or private; or should inveigh against the discipline or laws of the Church of England, he was to be silenced and not permitted to speak again till he had confessed his error, and been forgiven by the Bishop. Finally, the Bishops were charged not to allow any deprived or suspended minister to speak in such assemblies under any pretence whatever.

No fewer than ten Bishops went heartily with the Primate in this course. They were by no means blind to the peril of the experiment; but they considered it as at least less certainly fatal to the character of the Church and the religious condition of the people, than the state of torpor into which the clergy and the laity were, by due course of law, about to be driven. Indeed, they went further. They knew that a strong desire for religious instruction was abroad, and they were anxious that it should be gratified, rather through the regular channel of the ministry, than by means of teachers who might have ends of their own to serve. The Queen took an entirely different view of the case. She saw no further than the immediate breach of a somewhat arbitrary law; and she gave orders that the prophecyings should cease. It was to no purpose that Grindal—roused at length into action—remonstrated against this decree. 'I cannot marvel enough,' he says, 'how this strange opinion 'should enter into your mind—that it should be good for the 'Church to have few preachers! Alas! Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any one thing than that the Gospel of Christ 'should be plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers 'should be sent into the Lord's harvest, which, being great and 'large, standeth in need, not of few, but many, workmen.' He then proceeds to show that to suspect of disloyalty those who desired instruction out of the Bible, was not merely an error,

but a sin: that Her Majesty's faithful and loving subjects were to be found wherever the Word was truly and freely preached: that the only rebels against her person and throne had been so rendered by papistry and ignorance of God's Word through want of often preaching. Then, after glancing at the causes which operated to call forth opposition to preaching and led to such an inadequate substitute as the reading of homilies, he explains the object and design of the prophecyings, and thus concludes:—'I am forced with all humility, and yet plainly to 'profess, that I cannot with safe conscience, and without offence 'to the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the 'said exercises: much less can I send out my injunction for the 'utter and universal subversion of the same. I say, with St. 'Paul, "I have no power to destroy, but only to edify;" and, 'with the same Apostle, "I can do nothing against the truth, but '"for the truth." If it be your Majesty's pleasure for this, or any 'other cause, to remove me out of my place, I will, with all 'humility, yield thereto and render again to your Majesty what I 'received from the same: I consider with myself that it is a fearful 'thing to fall into the hands of the living God. I consider, also, 'as St. John saith, "That he who acts against his conscience is 'building for hell." And what should I win if I gained—I 'will not say a bishoprick, but the whole world, and lose mine 'own soul?'

This wholesome remonstrance was presented by the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh to the Queen. Eight days elapsed without any reply being vouchsafed; and then it came in the form of a command for the Archbishop's suspension. He was summoned also to appear before the Lords in the Star Chamber, and there make his humble submission to the Queen. The rest of his history is well known. He could not appear in the Star Chamber, being confined to his bed by a painful malady; and his submission he refused to make, further than by expressing fervent sorrow that he should have fallen under her Majesty's displeasure. He was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house, and measures were taken for his deprivation. But a stronger hand than that of Elizabeth protected him from this outrage. He died in disgrace on the 6th of July, 1583.

The successor of Grindal in the Primacy was Whitgift, a man of vast learning and undoubted zeal. His government proved to be harsh, because his spirit was intolerant; yet he acted throughout, neither upon the suggestions of impulse, nor through any mean design to ingratiate himself into the favour of his royal mistress. His temper, in fact, bore, in many

respects, a close resemblance to her own. When questions arose which the law had decided, he could enter into no compromise. He demanded submission as a duty, and was prone to exact it rather by force than by argument. The new Archbishop took his ground at once, and never afterwards swerved from it. He found a sharp persecution begun against Brownists, Anabaptists, and the Family of Love. He carried it forward vigorously, including, from time to time, an ill-fated prophet among his victims. But this was not enough. The Puritans must also be extirpated, and their turn came in due time.

The Brownists were the followers of one Robert Brown, a beneficed clergyman, of good family, but loose morals. He attracted notice, and got into about thirty jails, by preaching continually against the Bishops and a Church episcopally governed. Yet he never resigned his preferment. He was less honest than his followers. The Anabaptists resembled the disciples of Munzer in this respect alone; that they denied the validity of infant baptism. The Family of Love were in theory Antinomians,—in practice, as far as we can discover, perfectly harmless. All, however, had seceded from the Establishment, and all were, therefore, by common consent amenable to persecution. Indeed, it was the settled faith of the age that there could be but one church in a nation, and that all who withdrew from it rendered themselves thereby obnoxious to condign punishment. Such was the opinion expressed by Cartwright himself without circumlocution or evasion when animadverting upon Whitgift's defence of the Church of England. 'Magistrates,' he says, 'ought to enforce the attendance of Atheists and Papists on the service of the Church, 'and punish them if they do not profit by the preaching of the 'Word.' And such, a few years later, was the tone of a petition presented in favour of certain oppressed Puritan divines by a body of Suffolk magistrates. 'Laborious ministers,' they say, 'are marshalled with the worst malefactors, persecuted, indicted, arraigned, and condemned, for matters, as we presume, 'of very slender moment; some for having the holidays unbidden; some for singing the psalm *Nunc Dimittis;* some for 'leaving out the cross in baptism.' Then, after reciting the grievances of their own party, they add:—'By law we 'proceed against all offenders; we touch none that the law 'spareth; we spare none that the law toucheth; we allow not 'of Papists; of the Family of Love; of Anabaptists or Brownists; we punish all these. And yet we are christened with 'the odious name of Puritans.' A curious argument this to be addressed to a power, which, if it erred at all in its dealings with the petitioners, erred because of its interference with the

sacred right of private conscience.' Yet wherein does it differ from the reasoning of that large and sincerely honest party among ourselves, which meet, from time to time, to denounce Popery and Puseyism in Exeter Hall, and deliberately print the same sort of ethics in the columns of the 'Record' Newspaper?

It was in 1583, that Whitgift braced himself in earnest to the enterprise which he had undertaken. In the autumn of this year the Queen, at his request, issued a new Commission; which was addressed to forty-four persons; of whom twelve were always to be bishops, the rest high officers of state. Three out of these forty-eight persons were qualified to act, provided the archbishop and one of the prelates mentioned in the deed were of the number; and the powers conferred upon them were tremendous. They had authority to inquire into all heretical opinions, seditions, books, false rumours, or slanderous words. They were to correct, reform, and punish all who wilfully abstained from divine service established by law, all heresies, schisms, &c.; to cite before them and deprive such of the clergy as maintained any doctrine contrary to the Articles; to punish all grievous offences cognisable by the ecclesiastical law, including outrages, misdemeanours, and disorders in marriage. In their mode of proceeding likewise the utmost latitude was given. If a culprit could not be convicted under a jury, the Court had power to convict 'by witnesses alone.' If witnesses were not forthcoming, the accused might be put upon his oath expurgatory, and compelled to answer by imprisonment and the rack. Finally, as a guide to the Commission in its dealings with clerical delinquents, the Archbishop drew up twenty-four Articles, which were so ingeniously contrived, that no honest Puritan could escape from them. We should disgust as well as fatigue our readers were we to describe in detail the proceedings of this most atrocious Commission. For it left no point untouched, whether the party arraigned were an impugner of the whole constitution of the Church, or only tender in his conscience as to the fitness of the surplice. But the cases of Paget and Udal, both men of rare piety and distinguished learning, stand so completely by themselves, that we should not feel justified in passing them by.

Eusebius Paget was minister of Kilkhampton, in the diocese of Exeter. He is described as a divine, meek, quiet, and indefatigable; who went about his district continually doing good, and preached the simple truths of the Gospel wherever he could collect an audience. He never made a secret of his dislike to certain rites practised in the Church as well as to most of

the directions laid down in the Prayer-book. Before consenting to be inducted into his benefice, he had opened his mind freely on both subjects; and was assured as well by his patron as by the bishop that for such causes he had no reason to apprehend molestation. The Commission had been in existence about two years only when Paget was brought before it, on charges, the worst of which, if proved, might have convicted him of indiscretion, but which had clearly no stain of heresy about them. Moreover, he was accused of disloyalty, because, while acknowledging the Queen's undoubted supremacy in affairs temporal, he questioned her right, and that of any unordained person, to interfere in matters purely spiritual. It is not a little curious to observe the changes which time and events have wrought in the abstract views of Church parties. Paget was a Puritan; yet he claimed for the clergy an exclusive right to the keys. Is it not for this that the Church Union of modern times speaketh daily? But Whitgift's churchmanship was of a more accommodating nature. Having found Paget guilty of heresy, schism, and disloyalty, he ejected him from his benefice, and when the poor man endeavoured to support himself and his family by opening a school, he called upon him to subscribe the thirty-nine articles, and take out a licence from his bishop. The terms in which Paget describes his case are very touching:— 'I was never present,' he writes, 'at any separate assembly 'from the Church, but abhorred them. I thought it my duty 'not to forsake the Church because of some blemishes in it. 'I am turned out of my living by commandment. I afterwards 'preached without living or a penny stipend; and when I was 'forbid, I ceased. I then taught a few children, to get a little 'bread for myself and mine to eat; some disliked this, and 'wished me to forbear, which I have done, and am now to go 'as an idle rogue and vagabond from door to door to beg my 'bread.' It is satisfactory to find that this poor man's sufferings lasted only during the lifetime of Whitgift; and that, being reinstated in the ministry, and presented to the living of St. Agnes', Aldersgate, he, of his own accord, shook off his scruples, and died, after years of usefulness, in strict conformity with the Church of England.

Udal's wrongs were even more flagrant. A treatise appeared in which Bishops were coarsely handled, and suspicion of the authorship fell upon him. He was arraigned before the Commission and closely questioned, but refused to criminate himself. He declined, however, to say in direct terms that he was not the author, and assigned his reasons. 'My Lord,' was his answer to a remonstrance from Lord Cobham, 'I think the author

'did well, and I know he is inquired after to be punished. 'I think it my duty to hinder the finding of him out, which I 'cannot do better than thus.' 'And why so, I pray you?' demanded the Lord Chief Justice. 'Because if every one that 'is suspected do deny it, the author at length must needs be 'found out.' It matters very little whether Udal really was or was not the author of the libel in question. That he wrote the preface to it, becoming responsible thereby for the contents of the whole book, seems to be generally admitted. And had the Commission prosecuted him as a libeller, no voice could well have been raised against it. But the Commission took a very different view of the case. Udal had the oath proposed to him, which he refused to take. He was first committed to prison, and then carried, with fetters on his legs, to Croydon. The Judge in charging the jury assured them that 'Bishops were 'the Queen's officers in things ecclesiastical, and that he who 'spoke or wrote against them, spoke or wrote against the 'Queen.' And on this ground, and without any proof adduced that Udal had really committed the offence with which he stood charged, the jury returned a verdict of guilty. A form of recantation was laid before him which he refused to sign. He was sent back to prison in the hope that time and the solitude of a dungeon might bring him, as the phrase went, to reason. But neither arguments nor threats could bend him to more than an acknowledgment that 'the manner of the book was in 'some parts such as might worthily be blamed.' At the next Assizes he was placed in the felons' dock to receive sentence of death. The Commission had, however, by this, exceeded the utmost limits of audacity. Public feeling ran strong in Udal's favour. The jury which convicted him complained that they had been doubly misled; first, in being told that the sole point for them to decide was whether in their opinion Udal had written the obnoxious treatise, and next in having received an assurance that not under any circumstances should the penalty of treason be imposed. The merchants of London entreated, that if he must be punished the punishment might be exile, not death; and they offered to establish him as chaplain at one of their trading stations in the Mediterranean. Even James of Scotland, cautious as he usually was of giving offence to Elizabeth, interceded for Udal. And his own appeal told. After justifying, in some sort, the doctrine of the pamphlet, he went on to say: — 'If the punishment be for the manner of writing, 'it may be thought by some worthy of an admonition, or fine, or 'some short imprisonment. But death for an error of such a 'kind, cannot but be extreme cruelty against one who has

'endeavoured to show himself a dutiful subject and a faithfu
'minister of the Gospel.' 'If, however, all this prevail not, yet
'my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say, as
'Jeremiah once said in a case like mine, "Behold, I am in your
'"hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you;
'"but know you this, that if you put me to death, you shall
'"bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land."
'As the blood of Abel, so the blood of Udal will cry to God with
'a loud voice, and the righteous Judge of the land shall require
'it of all who shall be found guilty of it.'

The Court was awed by this appeal, and hesitated to carry the sentence into immediate effect. Elizabeth herself wavered. And Udal, sent back again to prison, occupied his solitary hours in compiling a Hebrew grammar. Whether, after all, he would have been brought to the scaffold is uncertain, for his fate was still in suspense, when a power superior to that of the law interfered to settle it. He died, worn down with suffering and sorrow, in the Marshalsea, towards the end of the year 1692.

We have detailed these facts as specimens, and by no means unfavourable specimens, of the measures adopted by Whitgift and his Royal Mistress to establish uniformity within the Church. Their line of defence against assaults from without was neither more generous nor more long-sighted. It will be borne in mind that Cartwright, the illustrious leader of the party, had been forced early in the progress of the Puritan controversy to retire to the Continent. For some time he presided over an English congregation at Antwerp, and was honoured with the friendship of all the most distinguished of the Continental Reformers, including Fagius and Beza. His health, however, began at last to fail, and he petitioned the Privy Council for leave to return and die in his native country. His appeal, though presented and earnestly urged by Lords Leicester and Burleigh, proved useless; and acting on the advice of his physicians, he ran all risks, and returned without leave to London. He was immediately arrested, and by order of Aylmer, Bishop of London, cast into prison. But Aylmer's zeal outran his judgment on this occasion. He acted without first of all securing the Queen's assent, and fell at once into disgrace. Moreover, Whitgift, who with all his sternness did not lack generosity, seems to have been touched with the low estate of his former companion and antagonist. He caused him to be released. He even admitted the Puritan champion to an interview, from which both parties retired with feelings of mutual respect; but there the Primate's generosity ended. He declined to re-admit Cartwright to the ministry, and not without hesitation abstained

from preventing his induction to the Mastership of Warwick Hospital, to which Lord Leicester presented him. Even the scholarship of the great founder of English Presbyterianism, which was admitted, both at home and abroad, to be of the highest order, Whitgift refused to employ in the cause of abstract truth. The Romanists had lately published their translation of the New Testament, well known as the Rhemish version, in which they assailed the fidelity of the English translations by means of notes, very cleverly compiled. At the instigation of Beza, and by request of the leading members of the University of Cambridge, Cartwright undertook to revise the English New Testament, and to expose the sophistry which pervaded these notes; but Whitgift interposed to prevent it. He could not tell how much of poison might be infused into the milk of Cartwright's doctrine. It was by no means impossible that every blow levelled at the Pope, might knock down Episcopacy likewise. The Archbishop, therefore, in whom was vested the power to approve or reject, refused his licence to the work, and it never, as a whole, saw the light.

We must hurry over the rest of Whitgift's proceedings during this reign. They were in strict agreement with the principle on which, from the outset, he had determined to act; and to all appearance they accomplished their purpose. Puritanism shrank from open combat with power, and the Church attained, or seemed to attain, to the level of indifferentism. There was, however, a fire burning inwardly, which from time to time broke out into a blaze. The ablest and most obsequious of the Queen's counsellors, Leicester, Burleigh, Warwick, Bedford, Lord Huntingdon, Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas Knollys, looked with extreme disfavour upon the High Commission Court and its proceedings. Indeed, Leicester and Sir Francis Knollys made no secret of their respect for the Presbyterian party, against which its efforts were mainly directed. Nor did there fail to be aroused elsewhere strong aspirations after greater freedom in civil as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. In the House of Commons Wentworth gave utterance to sentiments which cost him, indeed, a brief imprisonment, but which indicated, pretty clearly, that in striving to govern as her father had done Elizabeth might overshoot the mark. In a word, the dawn was breaking of that practical liberty in England of which the theory had, from the remotest times, been interwoven in her constitution, and which a long season of intellectual darkness had alone prevented the English people up to this date from asserting.

It has been the misfortune of the Church of England that at almost every critical period in her existence, she has failed to con-

ciliate the good will of the more earnest-minded of the English people, and earned, thereby, their distrust. In 1584, for example, when the law appeared to have done its work, an address on the subject of the reform of Church abuses was presented by the Lower to the Upper House of Parliament. The address in question was by no means violent in its tone. It complained of insufficient ministers, of destitute parishes, and of pluralities. It prayed for greater liberty of conscience to the clergy, especially in matters ceremonial and of slight moment. It desired that common exercises, such as the suppressed prophecyings, might be restored; that the High Court of Commission should be restrained, except in flagrant cases, from summoning clergymen beyond the bounds of the Diocese within which they resided; that Bishops should exercise their powers in person rather than by commission, and that sentence of excommunication should not be pronounced in cases of trifling irregularity. The Archbishop was of course the great impugner of these suggestions; and he reasoned as almost all Archbishops and Bishops have done, from his day to the present. He defended pluralities on the ground that many benefices in England were too poor to support the incumbents, but forgot to add that such are seldom held by pluralists. He alleged, and perhaps with truth, that in the memory of man England had never been so well supplied with efficient ministers as she was then. And he deprecated change, because there is always risk of its leading to confusion, into which state he was able to show that the rest of Protestant Europe had fallen. The Archbishop prevailed, and the address was rejected; but the Lords, while assenting to his arguments, felt that the general question of Church Reform could not much longer be eschewed. Indeed, there is ample evidence to prove that the matter would have been taken up in good earnest had not the opposite party arrested the proceeding by the impolicy of the measures which they adopted with a view to press it forward.

In 1587 a second address on the subject of ecclesiastical abuses was proposed in the House of Commons. It took a far wider sweep than that which three years previously the Lords had rejected; and they who supported it made no effort to measure either their language or the subjects to which they spoke. The Queen and the Court were alarmed. It appeared to them that the constitution of the nation in Church and State was struck at, and they determined to act against the assailants with vigour.

They had everything, except perhaps abstract right, on their side. Elizabeth stood on the very pinnacle of her popularity. The nation was yet rejoicing in its escape from the Spanish

Armada. Plot after plot against the Queen's life had been detected and avenged. The Popish powers of Europe were everywhere hostile, and it was felt that upon her, under God, all the hopes of Protestantism, at home and abroad, depended. What, in comparison with such an object, were venial errors in doctrine, or occasional outbursts of tyranny in practice? To a man the common people were with her, and of the nobles very few cared to oppose themselves to her humours. It was, therefore, among the middle classes alone—the burgesses and smaller gentry of the nation, that the strength of the Puritan party lay; and these, though daily advancing in wealth and intelligence, exercised, as yet, comparatively slight influence over the opinions of the nation. Hence her direct interference with the proceedings of the House, her rebukes to the Speaker, and the arrest and imprisonment of Puritan members, drew forth scarce a murmur of remonstrance throughout the realm. And by and by, when Martin Mar-prelate took up his pen to assail her, not even the truth contained in many of his libels could win over the mass of such as read them to his side. In a word, the Puritans having first of all injured their own cause by the extravagance of demands which were not essential to its success, brought it into absolute disrepute, through the folly with which they persisted in fighting a lost battle, and the countenance which they gave to designing, if not to crazy men, to stand forward as their champions in the struggle. When Arthington and Coppenger undertook to act as prophets of mercy and of judgment to such a madman as Hacket, and Cartwright himself did not refuse to correspond with Coppenger, we need not wonder that numbers to whom the policy of the Court was far from satisfactory should have supported it in the conviction that they were thereby guarding against a more urgent evil. Hence the facility with which the Restraining Bill passed through both Houses, a measure not more iniquitous in its spirit than impracticable in its letter. For a law which doomed to imprisonment, and even to exile, all persons above the age of sixteen, who for one consecutive month should be absent from divine worship in their parish churches, could not be carried into effect, had the desire to see it executed been more general than it was. The sole purpose, indeed, which it served, was to deepen the rancour of all against whom it was directed, and to raise up in many who had heretofore been neutrals in the quarrel, a disposition to take part with the oppressed.

From the passing of this Act, down to the death of Elizabeth, there was a lull, so to speak, in the ecclesiastical horizon. The Church party seemed to have triumphed, and by little and little,

ministers and people equally conformed to usages from which they could not escape. It is true that here and there a war of words was still kept up, sometimes in the same pulpit. The illustrious Hooker, for example, and Travers his scarce less distinguished opponent, set forth in alternate sermons, for the edification of the students in the Temple, the relative merits of an Episcopal and a Presbyterian system of Church government. And Whittingham, Dean of Durham, in spite of his Genevan orders, vindicated from court to court, his right to the preferment which Elizabeth in the beginning of her reign had conferred upon him. But the old ground of dispute concerning vestments, matters ceremonial, and the Book of Common Prayer, appeared to be abandoned, nor was the disposition as yet manifested to enter upon the wider field of doctrinal differences, at least in a spirit of hostility. Time and events were however working together to expose the hollowness of this truce, and the death of Elizabeth, which occurred in 1602, gave a prodigious impulse onwards to the crisis.

James I. had spent the best of his days in a country where Presbyterian institutions were in the ascendant. The pupil of George Buchanan, he was supposed to have imbibed all the opinions of his distinguished tutor; and he had repeatedly expressed to his native parliament—not without a wipe at the Church of England—a decided preference for the polity and worship of the Scottish communion. On more than one occasion he had remonstrated with Elizabeth on her treatment of divines belonging to the Puritan party, and the Puritans had in consequence taught themselves to regard him as their friend, and to anticipate the period when he should become their protector also. Whitgift—as the result proved—took a more accurate measure of the man. He believed that in professing a preference for the Presbyterian polity James had always been insincere, and he lost no time after the demise of the Queen in opening with her successor a private communication, of which the design need scarcely be particularised. The Puritans, though less on the alert than he, were not found wanting. They hastened to get up a petition, in which all their grievances, real and imaginary, were set forth; and they presented it to the new sovereign, soon after he had passed the border, with eight hundred, or, as they themselves averred, a thousand signatures annexed. This petition the King received somewhat ungraciously, but with a promise that its contents should be considered. It will be necessary, however, before touching upon the fulfilment of that promise, which marks the opening of another act in the great drama of which we are tracing the

progress, that certain matters which the order of our narrative has compelled us to pass by should be brought into notice.

We have elsewhere taken occasion to point out, that however much divided the clergy of the Church of England might be, they rarely entered at this period into polemical discussion on questions of abstract doctrine. There would appear, indeed, to have been no diversity of opinion on these heads among the great men who led the way in the struggle with Rome. Like the Fathers of the Reformation abroad, they accepted for themselves what we should now call a moderate Calvinism, and infused it into the confession and general services of the Church. This, however, was done with extreme caution; and the consequence was, that so long as public attention continued to be engrossed by questions, first of ritual observances, and by and by of Church government, men of various shades of thinking affixed their signatures to the national confession of faith, and explained it without scruple in such a sense as best fell in with their own preconceived opinions.

There seems, however, to be in the clerical mind a furor of controversy, which must find vent through some channel or another. No sooner was the original party-dispute settled, than amid the recesses of dogmatic theology, curious inquirers groped about for causes of strife; — and soon found them. It was in Cambridge that the doctrines of Election and Reprobation first began to be handled with a boldness heretofore unthought of. But the contest was far from ending where it began. It passed from town to town, and from village to village, till all the pulpits in England rang with discussions which served no other purpose than to leave both speakers and hearers in a maze. Again, Whitgift's passion for uniformity urged him to interfere. He could not alter the terms of the confession, which the Church in convocation had sanctioned; but he drew up nine supplemental articles, and put them forth as explanatory of the Church's meaning. There was no equivocation or reserve about these articles. They set forth, in terms as peremptory as language will admit of, the whole Council of God; and settled the fate as well of the reprobate as of the elect in the most summary manner. The elect, chosen before the creation of the world, could not finally fall; the reprobate, doomed by a like decree, could never attain to salvation. Faith, by which alone men are justified, cannot be extinguished in the former; grace, by which they might be saved if they would, is not given to the latter.

It is characteristic of the times of which we write, that these gloomy doctrines, though originating with the leader of the

High Church party, not only made no way in the party itself, but were taken up, and became ere long the Shibboleth of their antagonists. The Puritans gathered round them at once as the standard of their faith, and while in their outward deportment they became day by day more rigid, their common conversation was seasoned with a profuse intermixture of Scriptural phraseology. On the other hand, we do not find that any differences of opinion prevailed as yet, touching the nature of the Sacraments, and their purposes in the Divine economy. High Churchmen and low, Prelatists and Puritans, Lutherans, Calvinists, and the members of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, were equally agreed in this, that 'by baptism we are engrafted 'into Christ Jesus, to be made partakers of his nature, by 'which our sins are covered and remitted;' and that, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 'the body and blood of Christ 'are, *by the faithful*, verily and indeed taken.'

In this condition, as regarded its doctrine and discipline, the Church of England stood, when the representatives of a thousand Puritan divines put into the new King's hands their petition. Its tone was upon the whole moderate, and some of its demands were based on the foundation of right. But these, even more effectually than objections to ceremonies, and the dress of the clergy, insured the failure of the movement. Had the petitioners been satisfied to pray for deliverance from the surplice, the cross at baptism, and the ring at marriage,—had they denounced only non-residence and pluralities, chanting, the rite of confirmation, and such like,—at least they would have secured the sympathy of some of the most influential laymen in the Kingdom, without, in all probability, giving much umbrage to the King. But both King and courtiers at once took part against them, as soon as they were found to condemn the constitution of the High Court of Commission, and to demand that property taken from the Church and given to private persons should be restored and applied to the promotion of knowledge and piety in the land.

It is well known that James dissembled with the Puritans. The conference at Hampton Court, conducted under his immediate auspices, proved little better than a farce. Indeed, the low Church party seem to have been but indifferently represented there, though they deputed Reynolds, Sparkes, Knewstubbs, and Chadderton to be their spokesmen. Brow-beaten and bullied, these good men lost their heads, and took refuge at last in an elaborate advocacy of the Lambeth Articles, and the fitness of reviving the suppressed prophecyings. But one great good they were mainly instrumental in achieving, for which, if it

stood alone, they deserve to be had in perpetual remembrance. It was in consequence of a suggestion of Reynolds that a new translation of the Bible was determined upon; and out of this determination arose our authorised version, a work which, though here and there capable of some improvement, is upon the whole worthy of all acceptation.

The details of the Hampton Court controversy are familiar to every reader of history. Its issues were never doubtful for a moment, and the Puritans retired from it disappointed and angry men. They even blamed themselves for having striven, as they expressed it, to serve at once God and Mammon, and they took their places firmly on the side of the former. The High Church party in like manner resolved to keep no more terms with the enemy. They pushed their triumph to the utmost; and having drawn up a body of canons wherein the terrors of excommunication are dealt out with no sparing hand, they obtained for them the approval of the Sovereign and proceeded to force them upon the clergy. Fortunately for the peace of the nation, James considered it beneath his dignity, as head of the Church, to obtain for these regulations the sanction of Parliament. They never, therefore, acquired the force of law so far as to be binding on the laity. But the clergy had no other choice submitted to them than to subscribe or resign their benefices, and a considerable number of the best men in the body chose the latter alternative. Nor was it enough to drive out of the pale of the Church all whose views of religion and its requirements were more earnest than those of common men. It was considered right to encourage the growth of sentiments directly the opposite, and a royal proclamation enjoining the habitual desecration of the Lord's Day came forth. We need not pause to describe in detail the results of this policy. It drove numbers to seek on the Continent and in America that freedom of conscience which was denied to them at home. It opened a door to profligacy, especially in the court circle, such as shocked and disgusted all whom it failed to infect. And it awakened everywhere that desire of change — that impatience of prerogative, overstretched and abused, which broke out in the following reign into open rebellion.

In the end of February, 1615, died John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. He had governed the Church with much harshness, and was succeeded by one who appeared nowise disposed to relax the discipline which he found in force. But Bancroft was at least a more politic churchman than Whitgift. He endeavoured to conciliate where he considered that violence might fail, and passing over obscure offenders struck only at

marked men. He succeeded in establishing, for a brief space, a bastard prelacy in Scotland by accepting Presbyterian orders as a sufficient preparation for Episcopal consecration; and he won favour even with the Puritans by the zeal with which he persecuted Roman Catholics. His successor, George Abbot, entered but imperfectly into the former of these views, and failed in consequence to establish a permanent ascendancy over the mind of his pedantic master. Moreover, Abbot's misfortune in killing accidentally one of the keepers in Croydon forest seemed to hang like a cloud over his spirits through life. It rendered him patient of private slights, and indulgent, as far as circumstances would permit, to public irregularities. The Church in Scotland broke down under his administration, and the marriage of Prince Charles with the Dauphiness of France never commanded his approval. Besides, Abbot was known, in his general view of the Christian scheme, to coincide with the decisions of the synod of Dort—conclusions diametrically the reverse of those at which King James had arrived. For all these reasons, and still more because he shrank from persecution, he soon lost the favour of James, and with Charles he possessed no influence whatever. It is by no means clear to us, however commendable on abstract grounds Archbishop Abbot's policy may be considered, that it did not operate, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, unfavourably for the cause of peace and order. Trusting to his leniency many divines who would have otherwise kept within the limits of the law, broke through them, and inflamed their congregations, first, by preaching against the established order of things, and, next, by becoming martyrs for conscience sake, often very much to their own surprise. At the same time it is only fair to add, that, from first to last, Charles and his advisers acted as if an evil destiny were impelling them to their own destruction. When it became fashionable about Court to argue in favour of a reconciliation with Rome—when clergymen were noticed and preferred for preaching up the right of the sovereign to govern by the prerogative alone—when the remonstrances of the House of Commons against abuses in the Church were treated with contempt, and the Primate was suspended for refusing to license the publication of a sermon in which the authority of Parliament to make laws was called in question—it is very little to be wondered at that disaffection in Church and State should have become more and more prevalent from day to day.

And here we arrive at another stage in our journey. Under James the watchword of the Prelatists had been, 'No Bishop, 'No Church.' In doctrine they leaned towards the abstract views

of the Remonstrants, and inculcated uniformity in the celebration of public worship, and the divine right of kings to misgovern. The promotion of Laud to the see of Canterbury narrowed to a wonderful extent the terms of Church communion. New views of the nature and purposes of the Sacraments were put forth. Regeneration in baptism was understood to signify much more than admission into the visible Church of Christ. In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the body and blood of the Saviour were received in substance, though not in form. The Sacrament itself became a sacrifice, the minister a sacrificing priest; the table was become an altar, and its position arbitrarily fixed. To refuse to bow at the name of Jesus — to pray with the eyes directed anywhere except to the east — to object to reverences on approaching or passing the altar — to lighted tapers or pictures, or images, — all these became offences against the authority of the Church. And the law being brought into operation with a rigour which relaxed not even for a moment, it broke down at last, as all machines are apt to do when kept too long upon the stretch.

We are not going to follow Mr. Marsden in the account which he gives of the causes which led to the civil war, and the issues in which it resulted. Perhaps there is no page of history with which the generality of Englishmen are better acquainted. The resistance of the Scots to Laud's Episcopate and Service Book, encouraged the disaffected in England to enter upon a similar course, and the whole fabric of Church and Monarchy came to the ground. It was succeeded, for a short time, by a Republic and a Presbyterian polity; the Westminster confession of faith taking the place of the Thirty-nine Articles, and extemporaneous worship superseding the Book of Common Prayer. And now was verified the truth of the saying, 'that 'we seldom learn lessons of charity in the school of suffering for 'conscience sake.' The Presbyterians made haste to vindicate the Scriptural authority of their system, by expelling from their benefices such of the clergy as hesitated to conform to the new discipline. The bishops were of course deposed. Laud suffered death, and of his brethren very many went into banishment. But Presbyterianism, as it had no real hold either upon the respect of the House of Commons, or the affections of the people, so it fell before the assaults of Independency, and its armed preachers. We need not linger over this part of our subject. The gleanings of the harvest which the Commission of Religion had left, the Triers gathered in, and to all outward appearance the Church of England ceased to exist.

We have spoken, without reserve, of the severities of the

High Prelatic party. If we omit to expose at equal length the not less oppressive acts of their warlike rivals, it is only because our paper has already far exceeded the limits which we had set to it. Not in England only, but abroad, on the Continent of Europe and in America, the Puritans brought discredit upon themselves and upon the faith which they pretended to vindicate. For the High Court of Commission was never guilty of cruelties more revolting, than the execution of Robinson and Stevenson, and of Mary Dyer, the quakeress at Boston. At the same time let us do justice to the great man, who without assuming the kingly title, exercised for some years more than kingly power in this country. Cromwell was no persecutor for religion's sake. His views were tolerant to a degree which his contemporaries could not understand. Yet even Cromwell's vigorous arm with difficulty bent the elements of confusion into something like order; and when he died, chaos came back again. The people became impatient under it. They regarded all the sufferings of the last years as God's judgments upon the nation for its behaviour to a king whose faults had never been visible except to the leaders of the Opposition, and whose violent death had more than atoned for them, even in that quarter. As soon, therefore, as General Monk was known to be in favour of a restoration, the entire English nation assented to it. No conditions whatever were made with Charles II.; so that free and unfettered, except so far as a sense of gratitude might bind him, he returned to occupy the vacant throne.

And here, as it appears to us, an opportunity was afforded to the Church of England, of gathering under her wings almost the entire population of the realm. Charles II. had no religious predilections or antipathies one way or another. His own creed, if he had any, was the Creed of Rome. He felt his obligations to the Presbyterian party, which, with Monk at its head, had done more than any other to effect his restoration, and was inclined to favour them as far as might be compatible with a monarchical government. On the other hand, the Church of England, understanding the term in its constitutional sense, could not be said to have had at this time any existence. Episcopacy was abolished by an Act of Parliament, to which the late Sovereign had given his consent, and the rites and ceremonies which used to wait upon it were fallen quite into disuse. The measure to be undertaken, therefore, was not so much the alteration or modification of an old system, as the establishment of a new. And so the Presbyterian party regarded it, when among the first acts of his reign, Charles selected ten or twelve of their most influential divines to be his domestic chaplains.

Nay, more, the King's answer to his chaplains when urging him to take steps for easing the consciences of that large section of the people to whom they ministered, could be interpreted in no other way, than as conveying an assurance that conciliation would henceforth be the rule of his policy. Among the divines who took part in this conference we find Calamy, Reynolds, Shenstone, Wallace, Bates, Manton, Cox, and Baxter; Ash and Newcome, their contemporaries and equals, declined to take office about the Court.

It is well known that by this time the term Puritan had fallen into disuse. All who from whatever cause felt indisposed to welcome back the Laudian system, called themselves Presbyterians; whether, with Baxter, they preferred the Independant polity, or with Lords Manchester and Holles, were favourable to a modified Episcopacy. In perfect good faith, and hopeful of the King's support, they set themselves to consider rather how much, than how little, of the ancient Church system they could accept. And it did so happen that they found a scheme concocted to their hands, of which Archbishop Usher, Primate of Ireland in the reign of Charles I., was the author. This scheme did not seek to overthrow the Episcopate,—far otherwise. It suggested, indeed, a curtailment of the worldly state which enabled Whitgift to make his visitations followed by a train of 500 horsemen, and to keep on foot, ready when need should arise, 100 infantry, and 50 cavalry, equipped and disciplined for war. But it aimed at a large increase to the number of Bishops, by requiring that in each rural deanery throughout the Kingdom a suffragan bishop should be planted, and that each of the existing dioceses should become an archbishoprick; and that the two primates should assume the spiritual rank, and execute the spiritual offices of patriarchs. The suffragan bishop, however, was not to act without consulting his incumbent clergy, whom he was to meet once a month in synod. The diocesan archbishop was to meet a diocesan synod in like manner yearly, and each primate to assemble a convocation once in every three years, and to preside over its deliberations. Before these several courts all questions of discipline and difficulty were to be brought, appeals lying from the lower to the higher, till they should be finally settled in convocation.

Having agreed among themselves to this form of government, the Presbyterians went on to consider the doctrines and services of the Church. To the former they made no objection: the Thirty-nine Articles satisfying all their wishes. Into the latter they desired to see various modifications introduced. Though

generally approving of the Book of Common Prayer, they wished it to be treated rather as a directory than a liturgy. They objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, to the use of the ring at marriage, to the kneeling posture in receiving the communion, to bowing at the name of Jesus and towards the altar. 'You admit,' they say to the Prelatists, 'that these 'things be in themselves indifferent; they are not so to us who 'behold in them a rock of stumbling;' and quoting the words of King James, they add, 'it is not enough that public 'worship be free from blame, it ought also to be free from 'suspicion. We pray you, therefore, not for such occasion 'to hazard the peace of the Church.' It is much to be deplored that propositions upon the whole so moderate should have been met in a spirit, not merely of hostility, but of contemptuous hostility. The opening sentences, in the reply of the High Church party, changed entirely both the tone and object of the discussion. 'We must first observe,' they write, 'that they, 'the Presbyterians, take it for granted, that there is a firm 'agreement between them and us in the doctrinal truths of the 'Reformed Religion, and in the substantial parts of divine wor-'ship; and that the differences are only about mere various 'conceptions about the ancient forms of Church government, 'and more particularly about liturgy and ceremonial forms, 'which makes all that follows the less considerable, and less 'reasonable to be stood upon to the hazard and disturbance 'of the peace of the Church. This we deny.' Here was a direct charge of heresy. The Presbyterians threw it back with scorn; and a breach, which appeared at one moment on the point of being healed, grew wider than ever.

In this, as in almost all other disputes of the kind, blame may be pretty equally shared between the contending parties. The gauntlet was unquestionably thrown down by the Prelatists; but it would have been good for themselves, and indeed for the Church at large, had the Puritans proved less eager to take it up. Ere yet the Savoy Conference was well begun, the King had pressed upon their leaders, bishopricks and other high dignities. With the exception of Reynolds they all declined the preferment, alleging as a reason, that till the points in dispute between them and their rivals were settled, they could not, with a safe conscience, accept office in an Episcopal Church.

It is not worth while to pursue the subject farther. The points in dispute between the Presbyterians and their rivals were not settled, and Baxter, Manton, and Bates, and Bowles, instead of acting with Reynolds in convocation and in the House of Lords, stood aloof to witness the passing of a new Act of Uni-

formity, which, under other circumstances, they might have resisted, and even defeated. Then followed the ejection of 2,000 ministers — most of them pious, many learned, and able men — and the permanent establishment of a systematic nonconformity — which neither active nor passive persecution could eradicate, and which, in various shapes, comprehends at this moment, about half the population of the kingdom.

Such in substance is the tale which Mr. Marsden tells, if not with the philosophical indifference of a judge summing up for a jury, still in a spirit of commendable candour and perfect honesty. That he has his leanings no one who reads his book can doubt: but he is not the prejudiced advocate either of a cause or of its champions; for he exposes with great impartiality, the faults as well of the one side as of the other. His volumes, moreover, deserve to be studied quite as much by such as are anxious about the future, as by those who content themselves with looking continually to the past. It is clear that at the root of this continued opposition and strife lay neither questions of dress, nor forms of Church government, nor points of doctrine exclusively. These might be used, from time to time, as watchwords or battle-cries; but what the Church of England wanted then, to command the undivided loyalty of the English people, was, that which she seems destined in the present generation to receive, whether to the same good purpose, who shall undertake to foretell. For, in truth, the Reformation in England remains to this day a work incomplete; it was far more incomplete at each of the critical periods of which we have been writing. In renouncing Popery and its doctrinal errors, our Church retained too much of the pomp and circumstance of the Popish system. Her bishops continued unnecessarily raised by wealth and station above their clergy: her clergy, as priests, continued to exercise too stringent a dominion over the consciences of the laity. Beautiful as her Liturgy is, it contains expressions which jarred, three centuries ago, and still jar the convictions of thoughtful men; and its extreme length, as well as the many repetitions which occur in it, weary. Moreover, while to tender consciences the Thirty-nine Articles may be very acceptable, because of the wise comprehensiveness of their style and doctrine, there are expressions in one, at least, of the Church's Creeds, which, however capable of being explained away, continue to be regarded by the less instructed as marvellously bold, not to say presumptuous and unchristian. So also the services for the visitation of the sick, the burial of the dead, and even the baptismal service itself, are encumbered with phrases, which would lose nothing of their true

force, while they gained greatly in appearance, were it possible by the mere substitution of modern for obsolete words, to modify them. We say nothing of canons which the whole body of the clergy subscribe, without pretending to the power, even if they had the will to obey them; or of rubrics having the force of law over both clergy and laity, to which neither clergy nor laity will submit. Of those things the world has heard of late rather too much; but it is manifest that they, like other less prominent blemishes, remain, simply because the Church of England as a reformed branch of the Church Catholic, has not yet assumed the constitution which she ought to assume. What shape this is to put on, it would ill become us, at the close of a long article, to specify; but these features, at least, will not, we trust, be wanting to it:—A modified episcopate; the creation of Church Courts, in which the lay element shall be adequately represented; a due supply of clergy to the waste places of the land, and such a reform in cathedral bodies as shall render them the ornament, not the great blot, upon our whole ecclesiastical system.

ART. IX.—1. *A Military Tour in European Turkey, the Crimea, and on the Eastern Shores of the Black Sea, with Strategical Observations on the probable Scene of the Operations of the Allied Expeditionary Force.* By Major-General MACINTOSH, K.H., F.R.G.S., F.G.S. Two vols., with maps. London: 1854.

2. *The Conduct of the War.* A Speech delivered in the House of Commons, Dec. 12th, by the Right Hon. SIDNEY HERBERT, M.P. London: 1854.

3. *The Prospects and Conduct of the War.* A Speech delivered in the House of Commons on December 12th, 1854, by AUSTIN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., M.P. for Aylesbury. London: 1854.

4. *A Month in the Camp before Sebastopol.* By a Non-Combatant. London: 1855.

To retrace the brilliant exploits of the Allied Armies in the Crimea, which have so recently excited the whole interest of the nation, and rendered the names of Alma, Balaclava, and Inkermann as familiar to our ears as those of Talavera or Vittoria, would in this place be a superfluous task, for we can add nothing to the vivid touches of that literature of the camp which has seized upon all the emotions caused by the present war, and the materials are still wanting for a more complete and dispas-

sionate survey of those achievements. To hazard criticisms on the conduct of operations, or conjectures on the result of the campaign, would be still more rash and premature, for the struggle in which the Allied Forces of the West are engaged already bears the stamp of the gigantic growth of the present age, and he must be a bold man who shall undertake to foresee its course or to predict its termination. We aspire to discharge neither of these duties, and we shall attempt on the present occasion to perform a humbler office. The rapid progress of events, the unceasing occurrence of new objects, the demand for greater efforts, and the interest attached to the tremendous crisis of the campaign beneath the walls of Sebastopol, have rendered the public somewhat forgetful of the earlier stages of this contest. No doubt much has already occurred to surpass and confound the anticipations of those who had looked furthest towards the coming struggle;—no doubt the experience we have already gained has dispelled delusions which were to a certain extent shared in by the highest military and political authorities both of England and France;—no doubt the crowning effort of the campaign—the attack on Sebastopol—has proved a more arduous and perilous undertaking than the Allied Governments had reason to suppose;—but to judge of the course of events fairly we must endeavour to follow their track, and not to commit the anachronism of judging the plans of May by the practical knowledge of December. It may have been the misfortune, but it is also the defence of the Government in the conduct of this campaign, that it has had no access to extraordinary or secret sources of information. We were compelled to send our fleets to seas which had never been navigated by our ships of war,—to land our troops where no soldier of Western Europe had trodden since the Crusades,—to invade a country and attack a fortress hardly known to our travellers. The Russian Government is in full possession of all the advantages of secrecy and absolute power, which had long since built an impassable barrier round the vast resources of its empire. A disposition existed to underrate the power of a State whose springs of action are diametrically opposed to our own, and the first events of the war heightened this disregard of the strength of Russia into absolute contempt of the troops and generals who had failed to force the lines of Kalafat or the outworks of Silistria; and, by the same rule, the power of the Ottoman Empire was exaggerated and enhanced by its partial successes. To say the truth, these errors were so general, we might say so universal, that we know not what party or class of men in this country has any right to charge others with being deceived by them;

but although they may have led us to undertake enterprises which have tried our strength, they have only shown more conspicuously against what difficulties and what force of hostile numbers the troops of England and France can carry on a successful struggle.

Whatever may be the ulterior consequences of the war, whatever trials and sacrifices it may hereafter impose on us, the first reflections which the events of the past summer and autumn are calculated to excite is, that they have enormously increased and awakened the moral energy of the nation at home, whilst they have revived and upheld the ancient renown of our arms abroad. After forty years of peace, during which our military establishments had been suffered to decline considerably below those of the secondary continental States, and when the leaders of a section of the popular party had selected these establishments for its especial attack — with unlimited freedom of opinion in the country, with a more active control exercised by the tax-paying classes over the Government — the world was not prepared to see England plunge into war with a force and unanimity never equalled before — to see that war conducted with such chivalrous valour, that the only indication of inexperience in the troops is the excessive hardihood with which they rushed on danger — to see the whole resources of this country, — her unbounded wealth, her charities, her mechanical power, her vast steam fleet of transports, and her social activity, spontaneously directed to the grand object of her ambition and her desires. The chief difficulty of the Government has been to keep pace with the spirit of the people. From the luxurious Guardsman, or the highborn cavalry officer, who exchanges the refined habits of his life for a bare couch, a dilapidated tent, and a scanty meal on the heights before Sebastopol, to the 'navvy' who volunteers to lend the army the assistance of his pick and spade to the common cause, one spirit is abroad; and this display of national energy has deservedly increased our confidence and our pride in the institutions of the country. The English are an aristocratic people, and the army has retained more especially an aristocratic character; but nothing can be finer than the union of its ranks, where the highest and noblest are most exposed to danger, and nothing more glorious than the claims of privilege where the post of honour is also that of danger and of duty. The narrative of these deeds, transmitted with unexampled rapidity and minuteness by the press, has at once popularised every incident of the war. Our soldiers—whose progress in education and intelligence does them the highest honour — write their touching

and simple accounts of heroic deeds in the tone of gentlemen and of Christians. And if any inconvenience has resulted from these public communications from the camp, it has been amply compensated by the inexhaustible interest they have excited in the nation. A similar effect has been produced abroad by the exploits of the British army. Our gallant allies, the French, have been the first to do justice to the heroic actions they have witnessed, and, for the first time in history, each army can bear an ungrudging testimony to the valour and success of the other. These moral results of the campaign are, in our judgment, worth the great sacrifices which it cost us. Of those who have fallen, none have fallen in vain, for those illustrious soldiers have given their lives for a large accession to the glory, the security, and the power of England. Defended by such troops as those who fought at Inkermann, ages may again pass before a foreign enemy can threaten our coasts, and the strength of the nation in peace is augmented twofold by the strength it has put forth in the field.

The most superficial acquaintance with the history of the last two years, during which Lord Aberdeen's administration have been at the head of affairs, may suffice to establish the *progressive* character of the negotiations and operations in which we have been engaged. It was the duty of the Government neither to lag behind the course of events by undue confidence or delay, nor to incur unnecessary expenses and excite unfounded alarm by a premature appeal to the forces of the country. The spring of 1853, when the affairs of the East began to assume a menacing character, found us and all the other states of Europe, except Russia, on a peace establishment, and even the amount of that establishment had recently been the object of considerable attack by a popular party in the country. We were by no means secure of the alliance or the intentions of France, for a revolution had occurred within a very short period which might have been followed by fresh changes in that country, or might have brought into power a government animated by very different intentions from those which the Emperor of the French has since displayed. The alliance between Russia and the German Courts being still unbroken, we had no reason to rely on the support, or even on the neutrality of Central Europe. The first step to be taken was the augmentation of the navy — a measure requiring the greater exertions as the recent introduction of steam propulsion in line-of-battle ships demanded a radical change in the fleet. The increase in the seamen afloat had fortunately been commenced by Lord Derby's government, and by the 11th of August, 1853, the Admiralty assembled at

Spithead the powerful squadron which was reviewed on that day by the Queen. The Russian Princesses were also present on that occasion, and one of the royal yachts was placed at their disposal; but the Grand Duchess Marie declined the invitation, adding, with some spirit and candour, that she had no desire to visit a fleet prepared to destroy her father's armaments. The Camp at Chobham, in the same year, though not caused by any especial reference to political events, was an important experiment in the preparation of an army soon destined to hold against a powerful enemy far less pacific encampments. The artillery, which had been reduced to an incredible degree, soon began, under Lord Hardinge's administration at the Horse Guards, to present a more imposing force; but these were the rudiments from which the Government of this country was in less than twelve months to equip two of the most powerful squadrons that ever left our shores, and to send upwards of 50,000 men into the field.

Such was the state of our military and naval establishments when the cloud no bigger than a man's hand first rose above the Eastern horizon. The eye of more than one experienced politician had already discerned a probability that the affairs of the East would ere long reach some catastrophe; the decay of the Turkish Empire was becoming more and more obvious; the diplomacy of France had injudiciously raised questions which could not be touched without danger; the designs of Russia were carefully disguised, but enough was known to cause uncertainty, and to excite suspicion. As Prince Menschikoff's mission advanced to its consummation, and the relations of Russia and the Porte were interrupted, the fleets of the Western Powers drew nearer to the Dardanelles, though rather for the purpose of a political demonstration than of an immediate intervention by force of arms. The passage of the Pruth, and the occupation of the Principalities, took place early in July, 1853; these encroachments were not followed by an immediate declaration of war, partly because hopes were still entertained of terminating the contest by negotiation, but far more because the Turkish frontiers, and even the capital, were not considered safe from the possibility of a rapid advance of the Russian divisions, which had already appeared at Jassy and Bucharest. The next three months were vigorously used by the Turkish Government, and when war was declared on the 4th of October, Omar Pasha at the head of a considerable army occupied the line of the Danube, and placed the Balkan in a state of defence. The declaration of hostilities first opened the Dardanelles to the passage of ships of war, and before the close of the month the Allied squadron

entered the Straits, and soon afterwards anchored in the Bosphorus.

Up to this time it may be doubted, whether the probability of a great military expedition to Turkey had been anticipated by the Allied Governments, although it had not escaped the bold and sagacious mind of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. The Emperor of the French was known to be extremely averse, at that time, to send any troops to the East, hoping that the naval superiority of the Allies would suffice for the protection of Constantinople, and foreseeing that if any army was sent at all, it must be a force capable of meeting on equal terms the legions of Russia. The Turkish forces held their position on the line of the Danube with gallantry and success. The occupation and entrenchment of Kalafat was conceived and executed with equal judgment and courage, and this position effectually prevented the Russians from turning the left of the Turkish army, or operating on the Balkan by the route through Sofia. Prince Gortschakoff, on the contrary, committed the error of extending his line of operations beyond his strength, commanded as he was in his flank and rear by the Austrian territories, and successfully opposed by the Turks in his front. Considerable reliance was placed on the fortified passes of the Balkan; but, on the other hand, it was known, that if Omar Pasha's army were once defeated, the Porte had nothing in reserve, and that all Bulgaria and Roumelia would then be open to the enemy.

Under these circumstances the position of the allied fleets, which had entered the Black Sea on the 5th of January, might have become critical. It was felt that, although they could embarrass the operations of Russia by blockading the coast, they could not oppose any decisive obstacle to the advance of a powerful army; and that in the event of a signal defeat of the Turks, it was even possible that the Balkans might be crossed, and that the advance of Diebitsch repeated. If by any adverse contingency of war the Russians should have been able to renew that movement which brought them to Saros and Rodosto in 1829, they might have seized the European castles of the Dardanelles from the rear, and obtained the command of that important passage whilst the allied fleets were operating within the straits. In short, the first necessary point was, to protect the approach of the seat of war, and to cover the future line of operations from the possibility of attack.

This subject had forcibly attracted the attention of more than one traveller who visited the East in 1853; and General Macintosh especially pointed out the measures to obviate this danger

in some communications which he has annexed to the work before us.

'I venture to submit a few reflections which occurred to me when formerly in this country, connected with its defence on the side towards Russia.

'In the first place, the line of the Danube is so extended, and the nature of the country in its immediate vicinity so favourable for a large manœuvring army, if opposed to one in such an imperfect state of training as that of Turkey*, that it seems almost hopeless that they should meet their opponents successfully in such a locality, unless powerfully supported.

'It may therefore be submitted that the best plan of operations would be only to garrison the fortresses on the Danube, and, as soon as possible, duly to strengthen the line of the Balkan, as the best situation in which the Turkish army could receive its assailants.

'With this view every thing should be done to put Shumla and Varna in as complete a state of preparation to receive their garrisons as possible; and, moreover, all the passes leading through the mountains in their rear should be artificially strengthened with field-works, looking towards those fortresses. It would be impossible to prepare such works at a period when active operations might be going on in the field; and the expense would be greatly diminished by employing the troops already in that neighbourhood in their construction, before their dispersion renders this impossible. There is a range of mountains called the Lesser Balkan, behind the great range looking towards the sea, the passes through which near Faki should also be strengthened with a view to their occupation, as a force landing behind the passes through the Balkan, which lie in rear of Varna, might otherwise turn the main position, and penetrate from thence into the country.†

'Should the enemy succeed, as before, in reaching Adrianople, it is believed that Constantinople might still be defended by occupying positions which extend from the creeks or lakes called Buyuk Chekmagee and Kutchuk Chegmagee, on the Sea of Marmora, towards the Black Sea. These positions, however, ought also to be artificially strengthened.

'Lastly, the peninsula on the European side of the Dardanelles, ought to be strengthened against a land attack *by works raised across the narrowest part of the isthmus north-east of Gallipoli*, as most of the batteries on that side of the strait could easily be carried from the heights behind them, if left as they now are. It would also be very desirable that the Gulf of Saros, behind that peninsula, should be accurately surveyed, and the soundings near the isthmus correctly laid down, a favourable opportunity for doing which is, I presume, afforded by the presence of the fleet. I say this in

* At the period at which this communication was written, not above 40,000 Turkish troops had been collected towards the frontier.

† The allied fleets were at this time still in Besika Bay.

the belief that no such survey at present exists. In the event of our ships having at any period to act there, and possibly to land troops, this would be found of great utility. Works are to a certain extent in progress in rear of the batteries on the Bosphorus, which was a precaution much called for. The other localities I have adverted to would require the careful examination of scientific officers of engineers, who might afterwards lay down the works and superintend their execution, and I fear that the Turkish military establishment does not afford a sufficient number for this undertaking, and it is indeed the impression on my mind that the whole staff arrangements in this country are still very deficient, which has led me to point out, though in a manner which may perhaps be considered very crude and imperfect, the expediency of these measures. (*Appendix* I. vol. ii. p. 269-73.)

And again the General observes:—

'When I was at Constantinople in summer, apprehensions existed that the advance of the Russians would not stop at the Danube, which caused me to make some suggestions upon that subject of a professional nature.

'Having formerly passed a considerable time in the provinces and capital of Turkey, I am enabled to speak of the country from personal observation; and as there is again apparently a renewal of agitation in the East, I would observe, that I think that even though the Russians were to be the conquerors in case of hostilities with the Turks*, and even though they were to effect the occupation of Constantinople, the Dardanelles might still be held by a power having the command of a fleet, even though that fleet might not be on the very spot at the moment; *but this could only be done if that position were to be augmented in strength on the land side.* On the Asiatic side of these straits, forts were erected about the time of Mehemet Ali's defection, from a fear of his advancing and seizing on that important channel; but when I last passed through it, no new work had been even commenced on the European side, which is a peninsula connected by a narrow neck with the mainland. In case of a land attack, it could not be defended by the old Turkish castles or batteries, chiefly on the water's edge; and if the peninsula were once occupied, they must themselves very soon fall into the hands of the assailants.

'To prevent such an occupation by a force passing over the neck or isthmus, *I would propose that a strong line of defensive works should be erected across its narrowest part, which is only a few miles broad, and at which point the slope of the land is favourable for the purpose. It lies some miles above* (*that is, north-east of*) *Gallipoli.*

'As the fortification of the isthmus would require time, and as the winter there is usually not so severe as to prevent such works from being proceeded with, it might be worthy of consideration whether

* At this time the formation of an Allied Expeditionary Force had not been publicly discussed.

they should not be commenceed as soon as the risk of hostilities in spring may appear to be imminent.

'If the Russians were enabled to advance on Constantinople, there is no doubt they would make a simultaneous movement on the Dardanelles, and would easily carry the batteries on the European side of the gorge—I say, the gorge, as the works have only thin walls on the land side.

'Constantinople itself is so extensive, that an army might occupy its inland portions without fear of being dislodged by a fleet, though it might bombard and batter the districts near the water. A struggle of this kind would cause the entire destruction of the city, but mere operations from the sea would have little other result.' (*Appendix* II. vol. ii. p. 274-6.)

In the course of the winter, the ground being still covered with snow, the Thracian Chersonesus, to which these observations principally relate, was surveyed by Sir John Burgoyne, and certain works were designed above Gallipoli to effect the first object of the expedition, which was to protect against all hazards the entrance of the Dardanelles. Such we take to have been the first step in the military expedition which has since grown to such gigantic dimensions. The first division of the British army left London on the 28th of February, and sailed from Malta for Gallipoli on the 31st of March, where they landed on the 8th of April. The first division of the French army left Marseilles on the 19th of March, and arrived a short time before our troops. It was not, however, until the 29th of April that Lord Raglan joined the army, part of which had in the meantime gone on to Scutari.

In the meantime there was every reason to believe, that, after immense preparations, and on the arrival of further reinforcements, the Russians considered themselves in a condition to pursue the objects of the campaign. Their main army, which had considerably contracted its line of operations, by the orders of Prince Paskievitsch, crossed the Danube on the 23rd of March, in front of Brailow and Galatz, the Turkish fortresses of Isáktcha and Matchin fell with little resistance, the Dobrudscha was invaded, and the enemy appeared disposed to follow the same line of operations as in 1828. These successes, however, were by no means followed up with the rapidity which such a campaign required, for more than seven weeks elapsed from the passage of the Danube to the regular attack on Silistria, although the Russians had every inducement to anticipate that interference of the European Powers which soon afterwards barred their progress. During this time the forces of the Allies began to arrive, but their policy and their operations were strictly defensive. The neck of the Thracian Chersonesus was fortified,

lines were marked out for the defence of Constantinople itself, and one corps of the French army advanced by the valley of the ancient Hebrus to Adrianople, in order to occupy that most important strategical point in the event of the Russians advancing upon or beyond the Balkan. Bearing in mind the principal object of the expedition at that time, namely, the defence of Constantinople from an invasion which had already crossed the outer barrier of the Ottoman Empire, the occupation of these positions with the force then at the disposal of Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan, was an essential precaution, and those generals showed the greatest wisdom in abstaining from any commencement of offensive hostilities at that period. On the 18th of May the French and English commanders-in-chief proceeded to Varna from Constantinople to hold a conference with Omar Pasha, and to explain to him the motives of their apparent hesitation. The Turkish general entered into this deliberation with great ability and modesty; but whilst he acknowledged the wisdom of the defensive measures that formed the basis of their system, he urged upon them in the most forcible terms the vast importance of giving to the Turkish army the moral support of an Anglo-French detachment at Varna, and the more so as Silistria had already been invested by the Russians since the 11th of May. The allied commanders assented to this request, and on the 29th of May a large portion of the French and English expedition began to disembark at Varna. But whilst Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud acknowledged the importance of holding Varna, as a port and fortress which the Russians could hardly leave on their flank, we are satisfied that these generals entertained no intention whatever of risking their armies in the pestiferous valley of the Danube, and that they strongly dissuaded Omar Pasha from the attempt to descend from the heights he occupied in order to relieve Silistria.

Happily for the future operations of the army the successful defenders of Silistria were to be found within its walls; the Turkish and Egyptian troops in the garrison fought with unexampled heroism, and our own gallant countrymen, Butler and Nasmyth, officers of the Indian army, who had thrown themselves as volunteers into the place on the commencement of the siege, performed feats which equalled the skill and prowess of the lamented Lieutenant Pottinger when he defended Herat. The siege of Silistria is an event not less memorable in the science of war than for its political results; for there, for the first time, a mere detached earthwork, called the Arab Teniah, over which a dragoon might have leapt his charger, kept the

whole force of the Russians at bay, and cost their army losses amounting to 18,000 men. After a fierce attack, which lasted about forty days, part of which were spent in an attempt to bombard the town from an island in the Danube, the entire works of the Russians were destroyed, and Prince Paskievitsch was compelled to retreat. This extraordinary event changed the whole character of the war, and deserves to be considered for its real causes as much as for its military results.

Had the Russian commander-in-chief remained free and unmolested to continue his operations beyond the Danube, Silistria must have fallen; for, from the reasons we have already indicated, it could not be relieved from without, and, speaking in a military point of view, the place would probably not have held out forty-eight hours longer, when the siege was raised. But an occurrence had taken place, which altered the whole position of the Russian army. On the 14th June a convention was signed between the Porte and Austria, empowering that Power to march into the Principalities in the Sultan's name; and whilst Prince Paskievitsch found himself opposed in Silistria with a gallantry he had not anticipated, and out-flanked by the Anglo-French army at Varna if he advanced into Bulgaria, the entire rear of his army was threatened by the advance of the Austrians, and the occupation of the Principalities by another force. The blow was a decisive one, though it did not come from the hand of a declared enemy. This convention was signed on the 14th June at Constantinople, and on the 23rd the Russian army was in full retreat, and Silistria was saved. The Russian Government spoke the truth when it afterwards declared that it had withdrawn behind the Pruth, for strategical reasons; but the astute statesmen at St. Petersburgh should have recollected when they seized the 'material guarantee' of the Principalities, that it was impossible to hold it with an army if Austria threatened the line of operations in the rear. The mere conclusion of the Austro-Turkish treaty paralysed the invading army of Russia, compelled it to retreat, and changed the whole character of the war.

The real purport and effect of this convention appears to us to have been imperfectly understood in this country, for it was the turning point in the campaign, and whilst it compelled the Russians to fall back on the defensive, it engaged Austria to that course of policy to which she has since adhered. The Austrians, it is true, did not act upon the convention until ten weeks after it was signed, because they were not anxious to provoke an immediate collision with the Russian forces. Germany had not yet pledged herself to the sup-

port of Austria, and Prussia was actively caballing against her. But the Austrian columns were thickly gathering on the frontiers of Transylvania and the Bukowine; they absolutely commanded the whole Russian line of operations and the Russian magazines, so that the whole army of the Danube was at their mercy. Had no such treaty been concluded, the Russians could only have been driven back by force of arms; our own forces might have been drawn into a campaign on the Danube, where they would have suffered a thousand deaths, and perhaps shared the fate of that unhappy column of the French army under General d'Espinasse, which perished in the Dobrudscha; and it would have been utterly impossible for the same army, whatever might be its success, to undertake the Crimean expedition in the same year. We therefore conceive it to be the treaty of the 14th June, between Austria and the Porte, which mainly contributed to the retreat of the Russians across the Danube, which wrested from them the material guarantee of the Principalities, and which enabled the Western Powers shortly afterwards to turn their whole strength to a far greater enterprise of offensive warfare. Although it has appeared to the more impatient spirits of Western Europe that the Cabinet of Vienna has advanced with excessive slowness, its progress, when closely examined, has been perfectly steady and uniform; and no Cabinet in Europe has played its part with more consistency and judgment. It has faithfully adhered to its intention of avoiding actual hostilities as long as possible, and of leaving no effort untried for the restoration of peace. Exposed as the frontier of Austria is to the whole brunt of an invasion from Russian Poland, a premature declaration of war might have been fatal to the security of the Empire. But Austria has been unremitting in her military preparations. Her army is probably the finest she ever possessed; and each of her diplomatic steps has been taken with the utmost fitness at the moment when it was most useful. Whilst we accuse Austria of postponing to excess the employment of the large forces she has now collected, Austria may, to some extent, censure us for plunging into military operations of colossal magnitude, without having fully provided all the means of ensuring success. But, in reality, the negotiations of the Court of Vienna, and her advance into the Principalities, were amongst the principal causes which compelled Russia to desist altogether from the aggressive attitude she had assumed; and it is a well authenticated fact, that General Hess proposed, in August, to concert operations against the Russian troops, with the Turkish and Anglo-French commanders,—a proposal which was rejected on

account of the other operations in which they were about to engage. Much has been said of the alleged interference of the Austrian Generals Hess and Coronini to prevent the advance of Omar Pasha to attack the Russian lines. If any such obstacles were raised they were immediately disavowed and removed by the Cabinet of Vienna, which had repeatedly declared that it had no right to prevent any operation of war which the Sultan's troops or their allies might choose to undertake. Austria indeed quarrelled with Prussia on this very point, as Prussia wished to give the occupation a more exclusive German character. But when General Hess had informed Omar Pasha that no obstacle would be offered to any movement he might think fit to make, the Turkish Muschir requested the Austrian General to favour him with his opinion as to the expediency of such an advance. Thus interrogated, General Hess replied, that though he should make his arrangements so as not to interfere with Omar Pasha's movement, he could not venture to advise that officer to hazard a campaign in the open country against forces alike superior in numbers and in discipline, which would probably have led to some disastrous catastrophe. The truth is, that Omar Pasha's army was already so disorganised for want of pay, of supplies, and of reinforcements, that it has never been able to perform any act of war since the passage of the Danube at Giurgevo.

Until these objects had been accomplished—and they were mainly accomplished by means independent of the will of the Western Powers,—it was utterly impossible to frame a distinct plan of the campaign. The defence of Constantinople and of the Straits had been provided for in the first instance; the enemy had been driven back beyond the Danube, his advance on the Balkans was rendered impossible, and even the Principalities were wrung from his grasp. These results would have appeared considerable, if they had been won by hard-fought battles and a great effusion of blood; but they were obtained without firing a shot by the allied armies, and they were the result of the pen as much as of the sword. They were also obtained sufficiently early in the year to enable the army to engage in ulterior operations; and from that moment the vast enterprise against Sebastopol became the principal object of the belligerent Powers.

At this period of the campaign it may have appeared to some persons whose judgment leaned to the side of caution, that, having accomplished the immediate object of the expedition, by defending Turkey from attack, and compelling the

Russians to retire behind the Pruth, the Allied Powers should have hesitated to engage in offensive operations of so important a character as the invasion of a province of the Russian Empire, and a formal attack on the stronghold of the Crimea. Little was known of the country, of the climate, of the strength of Sebastopol, or of the number of troops already in the Crimea or who might be sent there; and, throughout the war, it is a remarkable circumstance that the Allied commanders have never been able to purchase or to extort any secret information as to the resources of the enemy. The operations which were about to commence on so gigantic a scale were, therefore, unavoidably begun with an imperfect knowledge of the difficulties to be surmounted.

On the other hand, from the moment that the line of the Danube was rescued from the Russian attack, the sagacity of our statesmen, the ambition of our soldiers, and the instinct of the public, pointed to Sebastopol as the main object of the campaign. It was impossible that the safety and independence of Turkey could be secured as long as a fleet lay ensconced behind the batteries of Sebastopol to repeat the murderous expedition of Sinope. The Crimea was the keystone of the arch which Russia had flung across the Euxine. Thence she had sent forth her Circassian armies; thence she still menaced the Bosphorus. Indeed, nothing surprises us more than that on the return of Prince Menschikoff from his abortive mission, the Emperor of Russia did not strike a blow at Constantinople before the arrival of the Anglo-French fleets, and carry off his 'material guarantee' from the walls of Byzantium. But the possibility of attempting such a *coup de main* lay in the fortified harbour of Sebastopol, and no guarantee of peace could be relied on as long as that formidable weapon remains in the hands of an enemy. To these considerations was added the belief that the fortifications of Sebastopol on the land side were still inconsiderable, although they might become formidable if the attack was deferred until another year; and it was evident that if the principal seat of the naval power of Russia in the Black Sea could be destroyed at the outset of the war, the superiority of the Allies would at once be established, and the subsequent operations they might undertake would be of comparatively easy accomplishment.

Such were some, at least, of the arguments which influenced the decision of the Allied Governments, when on the 28th of June intelligence was received by telegraph in Paris and London, that the defensive period of the campaign was at an end, and

that the Russian forces were retreating behind the Danube. Reports had, probably, already been received on the strength of Sebastopol; the admirals were known to be of opinion that the place could not be taken by a naval force alone, and that a powerful army was required to attack it with success by land; the generals awaited instructions from home, and the French and English Cabinets took upon themselves the responsibility of directing this great enterprise. It was not, however, until the middle of July that the instructions to this effect could by possibility reach the Allied commanders, whose head-quarters were then at Varna.

At the time when these orders were given, and this plan of operations was adopted, it is probable that the Allied Governments did not foresee the circumstances which led to considerable delay in the execution of it. The preparations for transporting so enormous a force from Varna to the Crimea were conducted with the greatest expedition, but six weeks elapsed before they were completed Flat-bottomed boats or platforms, for landing horses, guns, and men, were constructed in the arsenal at Constantinople, and conveyed to Varna. The French siege train, which was indispensable to the operations of the French army, did not leave Toulon until the 7th of August, or reach the Dardanelles until the 25th of that month. In the meantime the cholera broke out in the camp and in the fleet with extreme violence, and the army was discouraged by the idea that it was condemned to inaction, whilst in reality the most strenuous efforts were made to bring it into the field, and no one could be more impatient than the Governments of England and France to commence operations. The ravages of the cholera were frightful, and our allies, the French, suffered from them even more than the British army. Under such a visitation it was impossible to run the risk of shutting up large bodies of men, infected with a pestilence, in the close decks of transports. The experiment was tried of sending some of the ships to sea, with cholera on board, in the hope that change of air would remove the disease; but the malady broke out with fresh virulence. On the 14th of August, more especially, the ships were struck, as it were, by the Seventh Plague; the very poultry and sheep died on board, and the Britannia had 100 men seized in one afternoon. At such a moment, and carrying with them such an enemy, can it be seriously argued that the army could have embarked, or the expedition sailed?

The British army which left England in the spring of last year, consisted of five divisions of infantry, of six battalions

each, and one of cavalry.* The artillery mounted fifty-six field guns, and the whole force might be reckoned, in round

* It may be convenient to refer in this place to the original composition of the army:—

FIRST DIVISION.

DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, Lieut.-General.

Major-Gen. Bentinck.		*Major-Gen. Sir Colin Campbell.*	
Grenadier	Guards.	42nd	Highlanders.
Coldstream		79th	
Scots Fusilier		93rd	

SECOND DIVISION.

SIR DE LACY EVANS. Lieut.-General.

Major-General Pennefather.	*Brigadier-General Adams.*
30th.	41st.
55th.	47th.
95th.	49th.

THIRD DIVISION.

SIR RICHARD ENGLAND, Lieut.-General.

Brigadier-General Eyre.	*Brig.-Gen. Sir John Campbell.*
1st.	44th.
28th.	50th.
38th.	68th.

4th (6 companies).

FOURTH DIVISION.

SIR GEORGE CATHCART, Lieut.-General.

20th.	63rd.
21st.	46th.
Rifles (1st battalion).	57th.

LIGHT DIVISION.

SIR GEORGE BROWN, Lieut.-General.

Major-General Codrington. (*Second Brigade.*)	*Brigadier-General Buller.* (*First Brigade.*)
Rifles (2nd battalion).	19th.
7th (Fusiliers).	77th.
33rd.	88th (Connaught Rangers).
23rd.	

CAVALRY UNDER LORD LUCAN.

LIGHT DRAGOONS. *Brig-Gen. Earl of Cardigan.*	HEAVY DRAGOONS. *Brigadier-General Hon. J. Scarlett.*
4th.	2nd (Scots greys).
8th (hussars).	4th Dragoon guards.
11th (hussars).	5th " "
13th.	6th (Enniskillen).
17th (lancers).	

numbers, at nearly 30,000 men. The original intention of the British Government had been, we believe, to send a corps of about 24,000 men, to co-operate with a French army of double that amount, and as it was supposed that the Turks could supply at least 25,000 more of efficient troops, the allied armies would then have amounted to 100,000 men. As far as this country was concerned, this estimate was considerably exceeded; for in spite of all our losses by cholera and fever, which are always inevitable in a young army entering upon a campaign in a strange and trying climate, the British army undoubtedly landed 27,500 men in the Crimea on the 14th of September. We cannot profess to have ascertained either the original numbers, or the losses, or the effective strength of our French allies; but they appear for some time to have fallen short of the intention of the Emperor, and the reduction of their army by disease was far beyond the losses sustained by our troops. The French landed in the Crimea only 23,500 men on the 14th of September, owing to the insufficiency of their transports, which returned immediately to Varna to bring over some 8000 or 10,000 more. But in the meantime the battle of the Alma had been fought, and the want of cavalry was never more severely felt by an army than after that great and hard-fought day. Of the magnitude of the expedition which left Varna early in September, it is scarcely possible to give an idea to those who did not witness it, and even those who were on the spot could not embrace its enormous extent. Six times the number of fighting men whom we had seen the year before at Chobham, were embarked with all their guns, stores, and appointments. Six hundred vessels of war and transports covered the waters of the Euxine, the British fleet still remaining in full preparation for action, and ready to engage the enemy if he had attempted to interrupt the progress of the Armada. The embarkation and disembarkation of this mighty mass of human beings were accomplished without a casualty. In three days the army began its march across a strange and barren country, and in six days it had defeated the whole force which Prince Menschikoff could bring into the field, in a position chosen and fortified beforehand with all the skill of the Russian Staff, and the power of the Russian artillery. When the extent, the peculiar circumstances, and the result of this expedition are fairly considered, it will be remembered as one of the most extraordinary achievements of ancient or modern warfare, and the part borne in it by the navy is some compensation for the absence of more sanguinary triumphs over the Russian fleets.

The expectations of the Allied commanders were fully

realised by the success of the two first great operations of the Crimean campaign. The landing was accomplished with greater ease and security than it was possible to hope for. The enemy fought a battle, as it was foreseen that he would, in the first position he thought favourable for resistance; and in spite of the natural strength of the line of the Alma, fortified by batteries of heavy guns, the Allies carried the heights in three hours. Thus far all was well. But it had been too confidently anticipated both in Europe and by the army, that when these two first obstacles were surmounted, the fall of Sebastopol would follow as a matter of course, and that the place was in no condition to support a prolonged siege. This opinion was shared by the highest authorities, both political and military; and although the spurious report of the Tartar turned out to be a hoax on the credulity of Europe, the story was the more readily believed, as it seemed to be the fulfilment of a very general prognostication. In the army, and at head-quarters, the same conviction prevailed: no one doubted that the place must speedily fall; but the question arose whether it was less hazardous to risk an immediate attack, or to suspend the operations for a few days until the siege train could be landed, and a fire of overwhelming force opened on the town. Sir George Cathcart and General Eyre entertained the former of these opinions, and, judging from the event, it is not improbable that if at the earliest possible moment after the battle of the Alma, the combined fleets had entered the harbour and attacked the town from the sea, whilst the army assaulted it by land, this combined attack might have been successful. But although we may now indulge in this supposition, we fully acknowledge that many circumstances combined to oppose a decision which would have been bold to rashness, and was contrary to many of the rules of war. If the fleet had been disabled by the batteries in the course of such an action, the Russian fleet might have come out, for the ships had not then been sunk at the mouth of the harbour. The French army was far better able to advance than the British forces after the Alma, because its losses had been far less, and its position was nearer to the coast. But these advantages were counterbalanced by the death of Marshal St. Arnaud at that critical moment of the operations. The engineers and artillery officers present on the spot, and in both armies, expressed without hesitation their conviction that as soon as the siege trains could be landed and mounted in batteries on the heights, they should open a fire of unparalleled severity upon the place, and that it could not hold out for many days against the means of destruction they possessed. With this

assurance, and the conviction that the place must be speedily reduced, with no great loss of life, by the means at the disposal of the train, it may be doubted whether any general would have been justified in risking an attack on the Russian batteries by columns of flesh and blood, more especially with an army young in the field, which had just fought one sanguinary battle, and was still exposed to attack from an enemy superior in numbers. Although, therefore, the result has not been as favourable to the undertaking as there was reason at that time to anticipate, we think that no one will venture in criticising this campaign to condemn the decisions taken at that time by the generals on the best information they then possessed. They were as yet ill acquainted with the resources of the enemy; but there is not sufficient ground to assert with confidence that an immediate attack would have been successful, and failure would have been the destruction of the expedition. It was not known, and it could not be foreseen, that the large ravines to the south of the town, and the rocky nature of the soil, would so materially retard the progress of the works as to enable the besieged to throw up fresh lines of defence, and even to allow the Russians to convey a fresh army of 50,000 men into the Crimea.

In the course of the subsequent operations, nothing has proved so erroneous as the calculations of the scientific officers in both armies on whose opinion the greatest reliance was naturally placed as to the conduct of a siege. But the result has shown that very little progress, if any, has been made in the art of attacking places, and that no provision had been made for the superior resources employed by the Russians in their defence, in which they were, of course, greatly aided by the marine artillery stored in the arsenals of Sebastopol. The French siege-train, consisting chiefly of 24-pound guns, was silenced by the Russians in three hours after the fire opened on both sides; and in spite of the elevated position of our cantonments, the Russians have continued to throw 68 lb. shot into the British camp. If all the Russian fortresses are defended by artillery of this magnitude, and by detached works on the system of those which surround Sebastopol, our engineers have a new theory to learn before they can reduce to a certainty the capture of works of this nature. And we must here remark, that the result of the siege of Silistria and of the operations of this autumn against Sebastopol tend very much to confirm certain modern views on the subject of fortifications, and to show that the slight and singular nature of these defences may be rendered more formidable than all

the bastions and demi-lunes in Flanders. This siege has become one of the most extraordinary operations of war, and it may be indefinitely prolonged until it be in the power of the Allies either to assault the place, or to effect a breach on the Severnaia, or Star Fort, to the north, whose fire extends to the line of the Balbek, or to defeat the Russian army in the field. In the latter case, the place must speedily fall from the want of reinforcements and supplies, which even now arrive with extreme difficulty.

It appears to us that this simple sketch of the course of events in the order in which they have occurred suffices to explain those apparent instances of delay and neglect which have been erroneously or unfairly imputed to the Government. It is not the fault of the Government if three distinct operations have been projected or executed in the course of the campaign, arising out of the altered state of affairs.

The *first* was to defend Constantinople and the Straits against an invasion;

The *second* was to support Omar Pasha in defending the line of the Danube;

The *third* was to attack the territory of the enemy in the Crimea.

Each of these movements required a re-embarkation and transport of the army, a removal of the stores and magazines, and hospitals, a change in the base of operations and in the arrangements of the commissariat, and an abandonment of a large portion of the animals collected for the purposes of draught, owing to the extreme difficulty of providing transport for so large a number of horses. The Allied Governments could only adapt the movements of their armies to the position of the enemy, whom they had first undertaken to repulse and then to attack. Their object and their design was that these operations should be carried on as rapidly as possible, and they were not sparing in their exertions to provide the means from France and from this country; but at the same time, far from complaining that some unavoidable delay occurred in the execution of such vast designs, the fullest justice is due to the exertions of those gallant men in all branches of the service, which alone rendered the expedition to the Crimea practicable in the present season.

Amongst the changes which the progress of science and civilisation have wrought in the world, few are more remarkable than the effects of the rapid transmission of intelligence and the universal publicity of this age on the conduct of war. Newspaper correspondents have attended every movement of the troops from their entry upon the campaign: travellers, lawyers,

and Members of Parliament have bivouacked by the streams of the Crimea, and eaten their rations of salt pork before Sebastopol; and by the progress of education in the ranks, thousands of letters from the men, admirable for their manly and honest spirit, have been circulated through every hamlet in Britain. No doubt some of the consequences of this publicity, with reference to the condition and the movements of the army, have been injurious to the service of the Allies; but, as in everything else, we must submit to these inconveniences for the sake of incalculably greater advantages.

In the conduct of an army in the field the present generation of Englishmen has almost everything to learn, for the experience of forty years ago is obviously inapplicable to the altered state of the world; and it is by this system of public discussion that abuses are exposed, omissions supplied, and innumerable expedients suggested. The whole country participates in the contest, and lends its intelligence and its resources to the army. It is, however, no new thing that officers in the field should look with some suspicion on unauthorised reports of their measures, and on the gossip of the town which affects to judge of military operations. When L. Æmilius took the command of the Roman army in Macedonia, his parting exhortation to the people is recorded by Livy in words which would not be inappropriate in the mouth of Lord Raglan.

'Vos, quæ scripsero senatui aut vobis, credite, rumores ere-
'dulitate vestrâ ne alatis, quorum auctor nemo exstabit. Nam
'nunc quidem, quod vulgo fieri, hoc præcipue bello animadverti,
'nemo tam famæ contemptor est cujus non debilitari animus
'possit. In omnibus circulis, atque etiam (si Diis placet) in
'conviviis sunt qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant; ubi castra
'locanda sint sciunt; quæ loca præsidiis occupanda; quando aut
'quo saltu intranda Macedonia; ubi horrea ponenda; quâ
'terrâ, mari subvehatur commeatus; quando cum hoste manus
'conserendæ; quando quiescendum sit. Nec, quid melius fe-
'rendum sit, modo statuunt, sed, quidquid aliter, quam ipsi
'censuere, factum est, consulem veluti dicta die accusent. *Hæc*
'*magna impedimenta rebus gerentibus sunt.* Sermonum satis ipsa
'præbet urbs; loquacitatem suam contineat; nos castrensibus
'consiliis contentos futuros esse sciat.' (*T. Liv. Hist.* lib. xliv. 22.)

If such were the complaints of the Roman general, the responsibility he throws on the loquacity of the town is incalculably increased by the power of the modern press, and the rapidity of modern communication; and it would be well if those who profess so eager an anxiety to correct all the mistakes

of military authorities would remember, that their exaggerated statements depress the spirit of our own troops, encourage the hopes of the enemy, and lower the character of the British forces in the eyes of other nations.

The Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Sidney Herbert have not, however, denied, in their defence of the administrative war departments of the Government, that if all had been known at first which experience has since taught them, many things might have been better done, some things left undone, some omissions prevented. The charge made against Ministers may, however, be resolved into this proposition — that in the first six months after the declaration of war, and when the nature of the operations in which we were about to engage was still uncertain, they did not put forth the whole military strength of the country. It is not disputed that they did send out, in the highest state of efficiency, an army at least equal in numbers and in excellence to any army which the Duke of Wellington had commanded. No less than 54,000 men had left our shores for the East before the end of November; these forces were also co-operating with a large body of seamen and marines, and acting in concert with a French army of equal valour and of superior numbers. The highest praise is due to such an effort, and, considering the imprudent language which had been used of late years in speaking even of the means we possessed to defend this country from invasion, the result considerably surpassed our expectations. The chief error committed by the authorities of the war department appears to us to have been that they did not at once widen the *basis* of their military establishments in proportion to the extent they had given them abroad. It is impossible for any country to maintain an army in the field without a vast provision of men in training at home. The embodiment of the whole of the militia is the natural and constitutional school of the British army. Whether in the militia regiments or in the line, soldiers are of not much value in less than a year; in six months they may be termed trained recruits, but Napoleon scouted the idea of forming a soldier in that time. With a view, therefore, to the future demands of the army or the operations of another campaign, we think that extensive measures ought to be taken at the earliest practicable moment to prepare the materials of a large reserve. If any deficiency exists in the barracks of the United Kingdom, camps might be formed with great advantage to the health and training of the soldier. The regiments recalled from the colonies should be raised to their full strength with men seasoned to the exercises of war. In the present state of public feeling nothing would tend more to

strengthen the army in the field than the knowledge that powerful reinforcements are in training at home. The Mediterranean garrisons would form the advanced guard of this reserve, and ought to be raised to their full strength, not only with militia regiments, but with troops which may, in case of need, be sent on to join Lord Raglan's army. The French Government set us an excellent example by the formation of the camp at Boulogne, and it is to be regretted that they did not make similar preparations in the south of France. As soon as the spring is sufficiently advanced, it would be an incalculable advantage to our young troops to pass a few weeks or months on Aldershot Common, so as not to proceed at once from a London or Dublin barracks to the climates of the Crimea or the trenches round Sebastopol, and we have reason to hope that it is the intention of the Commander-in-Chief to take the earliest opportunity of establishing a considerable encampment on the important strategical position near Farnham, recently purchased by the Government.

There is no doubt—for a statement to this effect has been made by the Secretary of State for War—that some of the latest reinforcements have been sent off with a larger proportion of young recruits than is desirable, and that even regiments like the 46th, which are equal to any in the service for military qualities, have suffered severely from disease on arriving at the seat of war in the present inclement season. These troops would probably have been far more useful if they had been subjected to more active training in the field before they left this country.

The first means resorted to by the Government to diminish this inconvenience was the presentation of a Bill empowering the Crown to enlist and train in this country a certain limited number of foreign soldiers, who should then be despatched to join the British army at the seat of war. The authors of this measure had certainly not foreseen the extraordinary misrepresentations to which it was destined to give rise, the false alarm it was to excite, and the extravagant opposition to be offered to it. They knew that in every war in which we have been engaged from 1688 to 1815 foreign troops in British pay had always formed a considerable portion of our armies. They anticipated on the present occasion considerable reinforcements from the sympathy of Europe in our cause, and they thought that a resource likely to supply men who had already gone through some years of military service, such as is required of every man in Germany and Switzerland, was not to be neglected. On these grounds the Bill for the enlistment of

foreigners was presented, and, with some difficulty, carried through Parliament. Its effects have yet to be seen; but unless some arrangement can be made with foreign governments willing to assist in the operations of the war, we do not anticipate any very large amount of voluntary enlistment; and we think there is more reason to fear that the measure will be inoperative than that it will be dangerous. The real auxiliaries we hope eventually to obtain in this struggle are allies — allies such as those gallant soldiers of France who have shared all the perils and hardships of the British army, or as the powerful armaments of Austria, which still keep in check the principal divisions of the Russian army.

We have so recently taken an opportunity in this Journal of discussing the changes which experience has shown to be necessary in those departments of Government which have the direction of military affairs, that we shall not again enter minutely into that subject. But it cannot be repeated too often that military *administration* is the root of all military success. In vain we may boast of sending the bravest troops in the world into the field — troops which have successively broken the baffled ranks of the enemy by their undaunted impetuosity, and resisted the attack of columns of tenfold strength by their unbending firmness; in vain we have placed at the head of our armies generals who learned the art of war under the Duke of Wellington, and have kept alive even in peace the heroism of their profession, in the plains of India, or on the banks of the Sutlej; in vain have we lavished the treasure of the country without inquiring the cost, as if success in war was to be bought by a profuse expenditure. These are elements of success, but the greatest of all is wanting, if the Government of this country does not place the administration of our whole military system in the hands of men of consummate knowledge, energy, and judgment. We intend to convey no censure on the Ministers who have thus far conducted this great enterprise. We are confident that they have devoted themselves to the work with indefatigable industry, with all the powers of their minds, and that if blunders and shortcomings have become manifest at the seat of war, no one has suffered so acutely as themselves from events which in some degree disappointed their foresight and their hopes. But it may be said without offence that the statesmen of this age have been trained in a very different school from the great war ministers of former times. The questions of economical and social reform, which it has been the part of a British minister to study and to promote during a forty years' peace, have little in common with the sterner duties of conducting a war. The subject is one

which demands at the same time the most comprehensive genius, to embrace in one view the resources of the country and the objects to which they can be successfully applied, as well as the most exact attention to details pervading all the branches of the most complicated administration. The condition of our army in the field, especially if it be engaged in an enemy's country destitute of resources, differs entirely from the condition of an army at any other time. Even the administrative instruments and services which become indispensable at a moment of effort and danger, hardly exist in peace, or exist in a torpid and inactive form. The principle of war is authority—direct, rapid, uncompromising, and, we had almost said, uncontrolled; it is, therefore, the reverse of that principle of parliamentary government under which all authority is limited in a thousand conflicting forces and interests. Nor is it in the ranks of the army alone that rigid discipline is essential to success; every department of military administration ought to be equally absolute, for the fate of an army may turn on one single act of neglect. Above all, the conflict between different branches of the public service is destructive of all good administration, and unity of command is one of the most important conditions of success. We shall not conquer the enemy, and we may even waste incalculable resources in the attempt, if we do not succeed in bringing to the highest perfection the mechanism of our military administration. Modern science already lends us its powerful aid to simplify the task, and to conduct war with a power and energy which never were displayed before; and this nation has shown in a thousand ways on how stupendous a scale she can operate by the ingenuity and power of combination of Englishmen in every part of the world. We have now to do for war what we have accomplished in the arts of peace, by machinery as applied to manufactures, by steam ships and railroads, and by gigantic associations. Hitherto we must admit that the enemy against whom we are contending has shown no inferiority to ourselves in the administration of war throughout his vast Empire; from Petropaulowsky to the banks of the Pruth we find him well armed for defence; we know that we cannot beat him by numbers: it is therefore by superior skill, superior wealth, and superior organisation, that we can alone hope to terminate the war with success. In these essential qualities, however, the British army under Lord Raglan has proved unequal, if not inferior, to our enemies and to our allies. In courage and magnanimity the British troops have shone with all their pristine glory on the field of battle and in the hardships of war; but the deficiency of high military edu-

cation in large numbers of our officers, and of experience in many departments of the administration of their army, have taught us a lesson which it is the imperative duty of the Government to turn to good account for the future.

In estimating the chances of our success in this war, it can hardly have entered into the sober calculations of any man, and certainly not into the designs of any statesman, to accomplish, by the military strength of British forces alone, conquests of Russian territory, or the decisive overthrow of the enormous bands which form the Russian armies. Even when our own comparatively small military power is combined with the far larger military resources of France, the difficulty of carying on war in an enemy's country at 2000 miles from our base of operations, is an impediment which the entire command of the sea does not compensate. If Russia were secure on her western frontier, confident of the neutrality of Austria and Germany, she could, in a given number of months, throw forces into the Crimea, which must exceed any armies we could bring into the field. Already the estimate of the force required by the Allies to ensure success on that part of the theatre of war, is not much below 150,000 men; and the possibility of maintaining such a force at that distance depends on many circumstances which we cannot absolutely control. If the war were a mere trial of strength between the belligerent Powers now engaged in it, the contest might be indefinitely prolonged; for many campaigns might be fought before either side were exhausted, or any decisive advantage obtained.

But this is, happily, not the case with the present struggle. The continuance of this war is so great an evil to Europe, and the common interests of all the chief continental States are so deeply affected by it, that they are irresi[illegible]led to support our policy, and join with France and En[illegible]n demanding securities for the restoration of that peace which we all desire. It may be true that we have not yet succeeded so rapidly as we had hoped in all that we have undertaken, and that the most daring enterprise of the campaign is still at this moment unaccomplished. But if we sum up the account on both sides, it will be seen that, whilst we have only not succeeded in everything, the Emperor of Russia has thus far failed in everything he has undertaken from the fatal moment of Prince Menschikoff's mission, with the single exception of his dastardly surprise of a Turkish squadron of inferior strength at Sinope, and a partial but indecisive success over the Turkish army at Kars. Upon the breaking out of the war he attempted to force the

passage of the Danube, but was repulsed by the Turks at Oltenitza and Citate. He had seized the Principalities as a material guarantee of his demands on the Porte, but he has been compelled to evacuate them altogether. He laid siege to Silistria, but failed to carry the place. He exerted his whole personal and diplomatic influence to obtain an assurance of the neutrality of Germany, but failed to secure it; and the triple alliance of the Northern Crowns crumbled to pieces, when Austria openly allied herself against Russia with the Western Powers. Having begun this war by the invasion of the Turkish Principalities, and by the most violent menaces to the Porte, within nine months he is reduced to abandon all these pretensions, to disclaim his policy, and to fall back on purely defensive operations. The Greek insurrection, fomented by Russian agents, was a disgrace and a failure. From Austria he receives the keenest affronts without daring to resent them. His armies have never yet encountered an enemy in the field but to be beaten; and on two or three occasions they have sustained reverses of so signal a character that their defeats will ever be ranked amongst the proudest achievements of British valour allied to French gallantry. His fleets have not been beaten, because not a ship has ventured out of harbour, but they have been sunk to block up his ports; and in the meantime the Russian merchant flag is absolutely excluded from every sea. To set off against this long catalogue of humiliations, which have suspended the political influence, and shaken the military reputation of Russia, all that can be said is, that the Russians have, in two or three instances, repelled attacks more vigorously than was expected.

The Allied Powers have, on the contrary, succeeded at once and without difficulty in the first objects of the war. It soon became evident [redacted] no attack upon Constantinople or the Turkish Empire [redacted] more to be apprehended; and before our troops had fired a shot the Principalities were evacuated. To strike a blow at Russia at all, it became necessary to pursue her into her own dominions; and the point selected for attack was that on which she possessed the strongest means of aggression. Her trade has been interrupted, her credit impaired, the whole empire impoverished, and compelled to expiate, by incredible hardships and sacrifices, the infatuation of its ruler. The most ancient and the most confidential alliances of Russia have been dissolved, and the position which the Emperor Nicholas filled in Europe is for ever lost to him. Happen what may, he can never hope to regain what this war has cost him; and so terrible has already been the lesson to his ambition and his imprudence,

that it will be long before a Russian sovereign again dares to ally the whole of Europe against him. At the present moment, if the war is not speedily terminated by the sincere acceptance of the terms agreed upon by the Western Powers, it is evidently about to assume a more extensive European character; and from that instant it is scarcely possible that territorial questions and conditions of far greater magnitude and difficulty should not arise. Between Russia and the German States the dismembered provinces of Poland must either be the closest bond of union, or the keenest subject of difference. Already throughout Germany the insecurity of its eastern frontier is a subject of terror and resentment. Russia, which succeeded in 1815, by the treachery of Prussia, in appropriating the duchy of Warsaw to herself, in spite of the resistance of England, Austria, and France, has spent the interval of forty years in fortifying herself on a colossal scale in the wedge which separates Silesia from Gallicia, whence she can threaten the capitals of Northern and Southern Germany. The fire already smoulders in the ashes: should it break out, another war of German independence will be fought on that ground; and it is not impossible that the present apparent lull of public excitement in Germany precedes some such explosion.

But we cannot desire that these terrible evils should break upon the world for the sake of the indefinite objects which might one day follow the termination of such a contest; we advert to them rather as warnings of the future, which it is a sacred duty to avoid, if peace can be restored on a secure basis by any other means. In the present temper of our countrymen, flushed with the excitement of unaccustomed efforts and with the heroic achievements of the army, it may require some courage in a Minister to speak of peace on any terms, not absolutely inconsistent with the strength and the rights of the Empire to which we are opposed. Yet peace is still our object, and our only object. We have bound ourselves by treaty to France, as she has bound herself to us, to seek no territorial aggrandisement or advantage in this war which shall not be common to the interests of Europe. No one has ever yet attempted to show that any exclusive or preponderating British interest was engaged in the quarrel; though British interests of the first order are identified with the independence of the East, and with the general cause for which we are contending. Those interests and those rights being defined by our alliances with the Powers pursuing the same objects, we have no motive to put forward any pretensions different from theirs; and if the people of this country were so unreasonable as to attempt to

prolong the horrors of war, and to impose incalculable sacrifices of treasure and of life not only on this nation but on the rest of Europe, after the essential objects of the war have been obtained, we should ourselves become an object of distrust and alarm to other nations, and we should lose that influence in Europe which, thanks to the disinterestedness and temper of the British Government, has never been more conspicuously displayed, or more beneficially exerted, than at the present time. There is no fear that too much will be conceded to Russia, for the four great principles wisely established by the Notes exchanged on the 8th of August stand immutably fixed in the public engagements of Europe; and although in the event of rapid and unbounded successes they would doubtless have been assailed for their moderation, yet they constitute a landmark in this question from which we see no reason widely to depart either in prosperous or in adverse fortune. The present situation of the belligerents does not justify us in going materially beyond them; and if that situation were less favourable we should resolutely refuse to abate one jot of these terms. By Russia, indeed, they were indignantly rejected in August last as conditions which nothing but the close of a calamitous and exhausting war could bring her to accept; yet before the close of November she has professed to tender her acceptance of them—a proof amongst many others that she is conscious of her defeat, and alarmed by the prospect of still greater perils.

When once the proposition is firmly established in the mind, that this war is, at present, not a war of conquest, and not a war of revolution, we may dismiss from our thoughts the extreme views which are not unfrequently put forward to aggravate the present situation of Europe. We have not to consider what is to be done with the Crimea, because it is not yet conquered; and Lord John Russell declared with authority on the last night of the short Session, that it was not the policy or the desire of the Allied Governments to attempt a territorial dismemberment of the Russian Empire. We have not to discuss the results which might possibly be obtained by an appeal to 'compressed nationalities,' or to those revolutionary elements which lurk in so many portions of the European continent; for France and England repudiate these instruments, which would only betray the hand that seeks to wield them. If questions of this magnitude were now to be settled, we must indeed prepare for an age of war and bloodshed; but they have not been raised by us, and they will not be raised, unless the pride and obstinacy of the Court of St. Petersburgh force additional causes of war upon Europe. But in the judgment not only of

the British Cabinet, but of France with her high sense of military honour, and of Austria with her extreme caution and strong local interest in these questions, the essential conditions of peace would be obtained if Russia consents to relinquish her separate protectorate of the Principalities, to secure the navigation of the Danube, to revise the Convention of 1841 in the interest of the balance of power, and to concur with the other Christian States in obtaining from the Porte securities for the equal rights of all its subjects. The Three Powers allied by the treaty of the 2nd December, are agreed not only on these general propositions, but on the meaning to be affixed to them. They consider that Russia must no longer have the right which she possessed under the treaties of Akermann, Adrianople, and Balta Liman, to enter the Principalities, to change their government, and to deal with that portion of the Sultan's territories as if she enjoyed a joint, or rather a paramount, sovereignty there. They consider that the navigation of the Danube must be secured not by treaty only, as it is already, but by an independent authority at the mouth of that stream. They consider that Russian preponderance in the Black Sea, as established at Sebastopol, is incompatible with the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, and consequently with the equilibrium of Europe. They consider that it is impossible to renew that part of the treaty of Kainarji upon which the Emperor of Russia based his claim to interfere between the Sultan and twelve millions of his Christian subjects, so as in fact to render himself the head of that vast population, and to become the dominant authority in the European provinces of Turkey. Such are the terms they require, and with less they cannot be satisfied. These concessions, moderate as they are, would suffice to extinguish the pretensions out of which the present war has arisen; and it may be a question whether it is expedient, with a view to a lasting peace, to render its conditions too onerous and humiliating to a great Power, which will then take the first opportunity of breaking through them. We cannot alter the nature of things; we cannot suddenly make Russia weak and Turkey strong; we cannot restore to the Moslem that empire of the sword which once ruled the Eastern world, or stop the irresistible advance of the Christian population; but we shall have taken those measures which prudence and policy imperatively require when we have deprived Russia of the weapons both of diplomacy and of war, by which she has attempted to annihilate the independence of the Ottoman Empire, and when we have shown her that the road to Byzantium is closed against her by the united will of Europe.

NOTE TO THE ARTICLE ON 'CARDINAL MEZZOFANTI.'

SINCE this Article was printed, we have received the 'Transactions of the Philological Society' (Nos. vii. viii. and ix. 1854), which contain an additional paper by Mr. Watts — a review of M. Manavit's 'Life of Mezzofanti' (pp. 133–150). Mr. Watt's estimate of the philological value of this work exactly coincides with our own. He enters, with a minuteness which our limits rendered impossible, into a critical examination of the two authorities — the writer of the 'Giornale di Roma,' (whose list he prints, pp. 136-7.), and that of the 'Civiltà Cattolica' — on which M. Manavit relies; and demonstrating by many examples the vague and unscientific character, he shows that, in determining the actual extent of the Cardinal's attainments, their unsupported representation, not only cannot safely be accepted as decisive, but is at variance with the ascertained and unquestioned facts of the case.

To the valuable collection of sketches of the Cardinal, by different travellers, contained in his former paper, Mr. Watts has added two new and interesting extracts, which we should very gladly have included in our notice. He writes throughout, as in his former essay, with a thorough love of the subject; and one of the objects of his paper, as of our own, is 'to guard 'the genuine fame of an illustrious man from the danger in 'which it is placed by the exaggerations of ill-informed and 'uncritical admiration.'